NATIONAL GUARDIAN
10 cents
the progressive newsweekly
Vol. 8, No. 20 NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 5, 1956

HISTORY IS MADE AT MONTGOMERY

50,000 Negroes open passive resistance campaign in Alabama

By Eugene Gordon

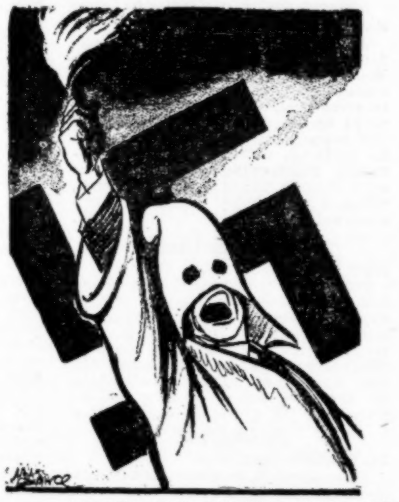
IN THE ORIGINAL capital of the slave empire, during the last 13 weeks, Negro boycotters of the city bus lines have shattered the unreconstructed South's "we-understand-the-nigra" cliche beyond further utility. They have cast a new form in which to tell the new story of 50,000 Negroes united for action against a tenet of sacred jimcrow law.

Unable to comprehend what is happening, Montgomery's quality white folks—bankers, landowners, mayor, police commissioner, sheriff, retail merchants, wholesalers, employers—have organized themselves into the White Citizen Council and labeled the Negro liberation movement Communist, although they know it is led by Christian ministers.

Montgomery police on Feb. 23 arrested 89 Negroes, including 24 ministers, and charged them with carrying on an illegal boycott under a 35-year-old anti-union law. Arrests next day brought the number to 100.

The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, vice-president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., echoed ideas of "passive resistance" as expressed by MIA president, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., who had said he was inspired by India's Mahatma Gandhi. It was a pity, wrote Guy Richards from Montgomery to the N.Y. **Journal American** (2/24), that Mayor William A. "Tacky" Gayle, City Commissioners Frank Parks and Police Chief Clyde Sellers "don't realize how alive Gandhi is," for he holds the key to "the great untold story of the 80-day Negro bus boycott here." Richards wrote:

> "It represents the unveiling of a strategy masterminded by Christian Negro ministers and officials of the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People which is as careful to avoid flirtations with Communists, on the one hand, as it has been to avoid violence, on the other. The brains in this crisis are mostly on the Negro side. The perspective and the sense of destiny are entirely on the Negro side."



Arias Bernal in Excelsior, Mexico City
Racism in Alabama

WALK TOGETHER: The Montgomery **Advertiser** (2/24) headline read: "Boycotters Plan 'Passive' Battle; Negro Throngs Jam Rally on Eve of Arraignment for Defendants." The story told of the 27-year-old Mr. King's voluntary surrender, arrest, fingerprinting, and his release in $300 bond. It said: "Montgomery's hymn-singing Negro bus boycotters last night vowed in thundering, stamping applause that the indictment of boycott leaders would not halt their movement." Pastor of the First Baptist Church where the meeting was being held, Abernathy told his 5,000 listeners that the next day would

(Continued on Page 3)

Picture of a man explaining Dulles' Middle East policy
Asst. Secy. of State George Allen (r.) talks to reporters after a three-hour session with a House committee on those Saudi Arabian tanks.

WAR & PEACE

Nobody (including Mr. Dulles) believes what Dulles said

By Tabitha Petran

AS THE PRESIDENT prepared to announce his "great decision," American foreign policy appeared to be suffering its worst crisis since the Korean War. Its "ineptness" and "lack of strong leadership," its "confusion" and "rigidity" were almost everywhere under attack. The deterioration of the West's position throughout the so-called "free world" was gloomily outlined in many newspapers. Washington reports told of a "sense of alarm and urgency" at many levels of government and in both parties. Demands for a "major overhaul" . . . "thorough reappraisal" . . . "basic revision" of U. S. policy were heard on all sides, even from some of the Administration's warmest supporters.

On Capitol Hill, Democratic Senators, spurred by the torrent of criticism provoked by the Saudi Arabian tank ship-

(Caontinued on Page 8)

BOUGHT-AND-PAID-FOR POLITICS

The great oil corruption

By Harvey O'Connor
Special to the Guardian

Harvey O'Connor is author of several works on some of America's biggest Robber Barons (the Mellons, the Guggenheims, the Astors, etc.). A former publicist for the Oil Workers Union, his latest work is a comprehensive study of the oil industry and its role in international politics: THE EMPIRE OF OIL, Monthly Review Press. 66 Barrow St., N.Y.C. 14, $5.

THE SULPHUROUS STENCH of oil and gas fumes on Capitol Hill must be pretty bad for Ike to be complaining. The $2,500 bribe offered to Sen. Case so offended the President's sensibilities that he felt obliged to condemn activities of the oil and gas lobby which "include efforts I deem to be so arrogant and so much in defiance of acceptable standards of propriety as to risk creating doubt among the American people concerning the integrity of governmental processes."

Maybe the President has been learning the facts of life since his election in 1952. For at that time he said not a word about the immense funds contributed by the same oil and gas lobby to help elevate him to the Presidency. The N.Y. **Times** reported that a million dollars was spent in Texas alone to assure his victory—nearly all of it oil and gas money. Without seeming to hold his nose at the time, he promptly signed the so-called "tidelands oil" bill which gave away at least $40,000,000,000 of Uncle Sam's property in offshore oil lands to Texas, Louisiana and California, where the state governments are controlled body and breeches by the oil corporations.

SLUSH FUND VS. VOTES: Or maybe the President really is a candidate for reelection and knows that there are at least 60,000,000 voters who use natural gas in their homes. Perhaps that was the reason why he vetoed the Harris-Fulbright bill which would have cost captive consumers up to $800,000,000 a year in higher gas rates. Otherwise how explain the veto of a bill giving the oil and gas corporations $10-30,000,000,000 (the estimate of the increased value of their natural gas reserves through the bill) when he cheerfully signed the $40,000,000,000 offshore oil give-away?

Now the Senate has set up a special

(Continued on Page 5)

IN THIS ISSUE

W. E. B. DuBOIS
Power of the South........p. 4
MIKE GOLD
The American expendables..p. 5
REUBEN BOROUGH
A program for California...p. 7
CEDRIC BELFRAGE
Reg. Hayward's reward....p. 10
KUMAR GOSHAL
The Mid-East-Asia mess....p. 6
ECCO LA SCOLTA
President Gronchi's visit....p. 6

Don't Delay—
Mail Today

To renew for 1 year mail address plate with $3. Do it today.

If your address plate reads MARCH '56, or earlier, your subscription is in arrears and is due for renewal NOW.

- Be sure to check your address-plate carefully for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want your paper wrapped. Enclose remittance, mail to:

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

War by referendum?

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

A new method is needed to enforce the people's will for peace. We suggest that a campaign to amend the Constitution be started on every available level: the amendment to require a majority vote of the American people before war can be declared, unless the U. S. is invaded. Military forces must not be sent outside the U. S., as in Korea, without a majority consent of the electorate. **R. W.**

Test reactions

HOT SPRINGS, ARK.

Since our government has made known its intentions of testing more powerful and destructive bombs, what, if any, will be the reaction of the American people? Will this bomb-testing jeopardize the health of future generations or are we being grossly misinformed? **C. E. Palmiter**

Arrogant?

PORTLAND, ME.

The paper is excellent, especially Belfrage, the articles on Tibet, etc. My impression is that the people as a whole are quite indifferent as to what the politicians do, or how many H-bombs are shot off. They are too rich, prosperous and arrogant. **R. Van Pelt**

Hope and hot air

ERWIN, TENN.

I've heard about several hundred bankers running down government bonds. "How awful," people say. "If we don't have faith in our own government's securities, what will become of us?"

But I don't see it that way. For I know that our great, wise leaders will just call in Charley McCarthy and Bob Hope and a word from those great financial woodenheads and wisecrackers will make everything all right and Uncle Sam's bonds will go to selling at par again in no time.

That's one wonderful thing about our "American Way"—in no other system can a little hot air start things moving so fast toward a boom, a battle or a bust.

Ernest Seeman

Showing the way

STANTON, MINN.

. . The point is that only the Jews and the Israeli government have shown the urge and the will and the scientific knowledge to make an almost barren land productive. The Israelis have done wonderful pioneer work in draining malarial swamps, reclaiming desert lands, stopping erosion and irrigating wherever possible. They have terraced hillsides, planted orange groves, provided safe drinking water, used fertilizers and scientific farming methods.

They would gladly teach the Arabs these methods if permitted, but the Arab peasant knows nothing of soil conservation or scientific farming and his feudal rulers are interested only in using him for cheap labor. The Arab Palestine refugees could just as well be used in reclamation projects in Arab countries, but the Arab leaders prefer to keep them as pawns in a game of power politics.

To worry about the land the Jews have taken is hypocritical. The Arab states have vast unused lands just as good as any in Palestine. Syria has four or five large rivers that could be dammed and the water used for irrigation and power. Iraq has vast plains in the area of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers—once irrigated and fertile, now neglected and desert. Egypt has started a large reclamation project near the Nile delta but she is spending the bulk of her money on arms and soldiers. Most of the Arab countries have large cash incomes from oil that could be used to reclaim many acres from the desert. Instead the money goes either for luxuries for a small feudal ruling class or for armaments.

Considering the constantly increasing food crisis in the whole area, our support should go to the side that is conserving soil and water resources—that is, to Israel. This is not a question of religion or politics; it is a question of sheer human survival. Israel is, in effect, a large agricultural demonstration plot, showing how the region could produce its own food supplies and save the land for future generations. We should cherish and protect Israel.

Mrs. J. M. Thompson

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

TWO-WAY PROTECTION

You and your family need financial protection against two risks: that of the breadwinner dying too soon, or living too long. You can achieve this security through the advantages of life insurance, which provides benefits to the living policyholders and to the death beneficiaries.

—Blotter message issued by the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co., Buffalo, N. Y.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Anonymous, Buffalo, N. Y. Please send original clipping with each entry.

News tip

E. PALATKA, FLA.

Now that Cedric Belfrage is no longer shackled and hog-tied in this "Land of Liberty," but is free to travel anywhere he pleases, might it not be possible for him to visit some of the socialist countries and report to us on the everyday living and working conditions there? I have in mind not statistics and generalizations, but descriptions of life under socialism such as Ralph Parker from Moscow and George and Eleanor Wheeler from Czechoslovakia sometimes send us.

As the economic crisis in this country deepens, as prices rise and the standard of living falls and unemployment spreads, the misinformed people who constitute most of our population will become more inclined to take an interest in accounts of the steadily improving conditions enjoyed by workers in the socialist countries.

Bertie Lee Blossom

Scurrying rats

DETROIT, MICH.

Re Lillian E. Reiner's recent letter concerning the Gestapo-like doings of the FBI in Syracuse: If the American people knew of these illegal activities such as threatening job loss, urging spying on one's own family, threatening the aged and invalid, using anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism—they would gasp in horror! They would demand a full-scale investigation.

The first fight-back job then is publicity; to expose these scurrying rats, as it were, to the pitiless light of publicity. What they are doing is un-American, unpopular and illegal. They will scurry for cover if their activities are exposed.

But why isn't there more publicity about these un-American, nefarious activities? The subject parties are unduly, mistakenly afraid. Actually, the less they do, the more they are bait for this "legal" blackmail. The firmer they are, on the other hand, and the more they fight back, the more likely it is that the rats will run for cover and they will be let alone. This point, I believe, must be constantly made because this false fear paralyzes the struggle against this current Gestapo, the FBI.

For those who doubt the FBI would commit such actions, I quote from one of Detroit's daily newspapers concerning the case of Lupa vs. the FBI, which Mr. Lupa won:

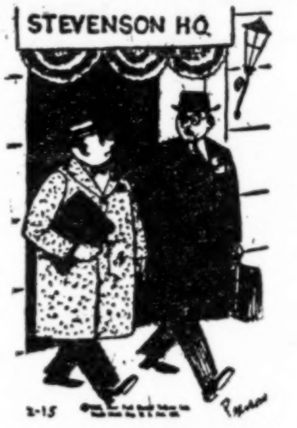
"Lupa's attorneys have claimed repeatedly that Lupa apparently was carefully selected by the FBI to be branded a security risk. Then, they contend, the FBI attempted to coerce him into spying on the Socialist workers in Detroit auto plants."

Mr. Lupa had a big family. The FBI had him fired from the Detroit Arsenal. Then they offered him a job in an auto plant if he would spy. **Auto Worker**

Bad faith

PAHOKEE, FLA.

The main trouble with America is that its bi-partisan leaders have lost faith in Christ's teachings, the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, and have replaced that with faith in Greed, Grab and Bombs. **R. E. Boe**



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Estes is going pretty good, and he hasn't even put on a funny hat yet."

Guarded comment

HEART OF TEXAS

I particularly enjoyed reading the piece on the current song hit, Sixteen Tons, in the Spectator Jan. 16, for when that tune skyrocketed into national acclaim a few months ago I wondered just how long it would take for some of our militant savants on subversion to recall that it had insidious beginnings.

In a 175-page booklet distributed by Parnell Thomas' House Un-American Activities Committee in 1947 a number of songs which were considered "seditious" were named, among them being "Sixteen Tons, an agitational song for coal miners."

Apparently a good many of the million or so who have invested in this disk via juke box or home talking-machine are being agitated into some sort of potential conspiracy. **No Soul to Owe**

Organize

CORAOPOLIS, PA.

Our feeble protest is of great concern to our fascist rulership. Yet that feeble protest in these United States is not well organized. This should be the concern of all democratic citizens. Let us become more militant in our fight for democratic socialism as an alternative for the innate tendency of capitalism for self-destruction.

August Maurin

Real necessity

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

As a subscriber and advocate of your honest, truthful and fearless writings, actions and ideas, what is your opinion about more comfort stations in New York City?

Bring to the attention of the City Administration and the people the need for these. It's not a luxury but a real necessity. **Patrick Beston**

"The 13th Juror"

CINCINNATI, O.

Steve Nelson has put into his book things all political prisoners are aware of. Many people including myself have often thought about a book like **The 13th Juror** but never been able to so vividly expose the prison system.

When he writes about the "slop" they call food, it reminds me of the mush they tried to make us Modesto prisoners eat in 1935. However, we had more support. When that great labor leader Harry Bridges threatened to put a picket line around the jail if food was not improved and vigil-groups stopped from drilling in front of the jail every night—yes, food was improved for us political prisoners and the sheriff protected us by putting up stronger iron doors.

However, we were different. We were met by James B. McNamara and Tom Mooney. Uncle J. B. had the distinction of being the oldest political prisoner in the world. He took charge of showing us the ropes and, as Mr. Nelson points out, a political prisoner has respect in prison which all prison officials fear. That was proven in San Quentin when we pulled the 1935 prison strike and won it, and never had one prisoner get hurt. As Steve points out we took our time, three years, picked our issue—not theirs—and won. **Reuel Stanfield**

"The 13th Juror" may be purchased through Masses & Mainstream, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.—Ed.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-3960.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. All other countries $4 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE
Editor-in-Exile

JOHN T. McMANUS
General Manager

JAMES ARONSON
Executive Editor

ELMER BENDINER, Politics and The Americas. TABITHA PETRAN, World Analysis. LAWRENCE EMERY, National Affairs. EUGENE GORDON, Negro Affairs and Civil Liberties. KUMAR GOSHAL, World Affairs. ROBERT JOYCE, Art Editor. ROBERT E. LIGHT, Advertising and Buying Service. GEORGE EVANS, Promotion and Circulation. TIBA G. WILLNER, Los Angeles representative. MALVINA REYNOLDS, 1199 Spruce St., Berkeley, LAndscape 4-4289, San Francisco-Bay Area representative.

Vol. 8, No. 20 178 MARCH 5, 1956

"Clasp the hands and know the thought of men in other lands."—JOHN MASEFIELD.

REPORT TO READERS

Goshal's grand tour

THE GUARDIAN'S KUMAR GOSHAL, our World Affairs editor, has the world situation sufficiently in hand to be able to take off on a month-long visit among GUARDIAN readers across the countryside to the West Coast beginning this week.

His presently scheduled ports of call will start in Minnesota with the Twin Cities on March 9-10; Seattle the 13-14; Portland the 15-16; San Francisco for our second annual GUARDIAN banquet on St. Patrick's night, March 17, and most of the next week in the Bay Area; L. A. area March 24 through April 1; and Chicago April 6-7-8.

He will have with him two extraordinarily interesting documentary films produced by the Indian government on the Bandung Conference and Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union last year. In addition to being one of America's best-informed journalists on world affairs, and especially the Far East, Kumar Goshal is also a nationally-famous lecturer whose career in this direction was arrested only when the GUARDIAN lassoed him for our writing staff some five years ago. Audiences along his itinerary have a real treat in store.

WATCH THE GUARDIAN events calendar and display ads for dates and places of Goshal's visits in your area. Scheduled at this writing are a gathering at the Hotel Andrews in Minneapolis Sat. eve., March 9; Tues. eve., March 13, at the Church of the People, 4033 University in Seattle; Thurs. eve., March 15 before the Methodist Federation for Social Action in Portland; the GUARDIAN banquet Sat. eve., March 17, at 7 p.m. sharp at the Mart Club, 1355 Market St., San Francisco; and, beginning March 24 in Pasadena, a non-stop swing through Santa Monica, San Diego, Long Beach, et al, winding up the week in Hollywood and L. A. Then Chicago the next weekend, April 6-7-8.

If you think you can pry open a gap in the Goshal itinerary for your community en route, better wire or telephone Malvina Reynolds at LA 4-4289 or EX 2-4960 in Berkeley for Northern California; Tiba Willner, WE 1-9478 or WE 6-5866 in L. A. for Southern California; or Theodora Peck, WO 4-3960, at the GUARDIAN office in New York for other areas.

CLOSER TO HOME, your General Manager was fortunate enough to be invited to Syracuse Feb. 18 for a testimonial dinner to Lillian Reiner, the lady who makes the Boys (and Girls) from Syracuse do the things they ought to be doing on behalf of peace, justice, good race relations and civic betterment. Upwards of 100 people from all walks of life came to dine or sent warm messages; many present offered loving impromptu toasts from their seats; Mrs. Reiner blushed but when her turn came, got up and told them a few more things they ought to be doing as soon as the dishes were cleared away.

Every town in these scrappy United States has a Lillian Reiner to thank for keeping them on their toes, braving the wickedest kind of criticism, fighting in the press and even at the shop gates for progress; and we think a few more of them deserve testimonials.

Look around your own neighborhood, call a couple of friends for a planning session and pass out that long-deserved pat on the back to the doer and the nudger who keeps things going out your way. If we're within reasonable distance, don't forget to invite us.

—THE GUARDIAN

Alabama resistance

(Continued from Page 1)

be "Prayer and Pilgrimage Day" He said:

> "Not a single race-loving Negro will turn a switch or touch a starter. Not a single race-loving Negro will take a cab. And you know that nobody will ride the buses. We are not trying to impress anybody with our strength. We just plan to demonstrate to the people who do not have cars that we're willing to walk with them."

DRAGNET: They walked. Their strength was revealed to the world by press, radio, movie newsreel and TV. Farmers parked their cars at the city outskirts and trudged to market. Here, in twos and threes—avoiding larger groups to deter provocations—was the full content of the police dragnet. Each, like King, had been photographed, finger-printed and released in $300 bond: an insurance company manager, a retired government employe, a laborer, a chemical worker, a gas company employe, a plasterer, an undertaker's apprentice, a woodyard operator, a student, a mail carrier, a Pullman porter-political leader, and a seamstress.

The walking seamstress was Mrs. Rosa Parks. The boycott began when she was arrested Dec. 5 and fined $14 for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white man. Her appeal from the fine had been denied by Circuit Court Judge Eugene Carter—the day of the meeting. He had then sentenced her to 14 days, but on notice of an appeal to the State Supreme Court had released her in $100 bond. She had been immediately re-arrested on the boycott charge.

Thus they all walked with Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes. The night before they had sat, with the 24 ministers, on the platform of the First Baptist Church.

Another walker who had been at the meeting was Rev. Robert S. Graetz, white minister of the all-Negro Lutheran Church. Unable to find a seat, he squatted all evening, laughing with the audience at the sallies of solemn-faced political leader E. D. Nixon.

NEW OLD LAW: Nixon's speech frequently stirred the people to restless anger—as when he told how his home had been bombed a few days after the front of Mr. King's house had been shattered; and how, despite the Mayor's coming personally and vowing to catch and punish the criminals, only law-respecting Negroes were being punished. Applause snapped the tension when he said: "They're punishing us for violating an anti-boycott law most of us never heard of. Strikes here in Montgomery last year—something like a boycott by railroad and telephone workers"—brought no such retaliation. He said, amidst shouted laughter:

> "They had quite a big boycott—I mean **protest**—at the University of Alabama, where Autherine Lucy was **protested** right out of the school. None of the, er, protesters have been arrested. I know this is confusing to you. Yes, and it's encouraging to hear Mayor Gayle saying he's tired of pussyfooting around. . . You stopped riding buses when you were arrested; now you're arrested for not riding."

DRAFT BOARD ACTS: Miss Lucy's attorney, Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, walked with Fred D. Gray, the boycotters' lawyer. Gray's draft board had reclassified him from 4D as a practicing minister to 1A. Then he was threatened with disbarment.

Rebuffed in his attempt to ease Montgomery's law, he had filed suit in the U. S. Circuit Court to abolish jimcrow travel throughout Alabama. Plaintiffs signing his petition were five women, including Mrs. Parks and elderly Mrs. Jeanette Reese. Mayor Gale ordered the women to his office. Had they signed the paper? "Yes, sir." Did they know what they were signing? All said yes—except Mrs. Reese. She said she wanted her name off.

The grand jury, charging that Gray "unlawfully and knowingly" appeared as attorney for Mrs. Reese without authority and without being employed to do so, indicted him. If convicted he could lose his lawyer's license.

Writers continued likening the Montgomery movement to Gandhi's. It was recalled that Mr. King had told the hundreds who gathered after his house was bombed—while the mayor and the police commissioner listened:

> "Don't get panicky, brothers. Don't go and get your guns. Leave them at home. He who lives by the sword will perish by the sword. Remember, that is what God says."

WEAPON OF LOVE: Mr. Abernathy at an earlier meeting said the movement was "part of the passive resistance . . . to show our enemies we are using the weapon of love." He urged his audience to reject the city's and the company's "settlement proposals." These provided that the first 10 seats in the front of each bus be reserved for white persons and the first 10 in the rear for Negroes; that remaining seats in the center be filled by Negroes entering by the rear and by whites entering by the front; that promised "courteous treatment" include extra buses "during peak hours of travel"; that assurance would be given of "no retaliation whatsoever resulting from the boycott." The Negroes' proposals were that bus drivers show common courtesy to Negro riders, that seating be arranged on a first-come-first-served basis, and that there be Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes.

BEHIND THE LAW: Abernathy picked up a copy of the anti-boycott law and read aloud that ". . . any person who, without just cause . . . enters into any combination, conspiracy, agreement, arrangement, or undertaking for the purpose of hindering, delaying, or preventing any other person, firm, corporation or association of persons from carrying on any lawful business, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor" and, if convicted, be subject to a $1,000 fine and six months in jail.

Mr. Abernathy said:

> "We Negroes used to live out in the brier patches and we had to eat rabbit every day, and we were afraid of the white folks—just like the rabbits. But now we've moved to the city and we eat steaks and chops and everything else the white folks eat. And we're not scared any more."

They left that meeting knowing that the White Citizens Council's declared aims were to keep Negroes from voting and to maintain jimcrow schools in defiance of the law; to brand a Negro who wants to vote or to send his child to an unsegregated school a "trouble-maker" and fair game for attack; to make it so that if such a person works for whites he is fired; if he lives in a white person's house he is evicted; that, having to get his cotton ginned before he can sell it, he is turned back by every cotton gin in the community.

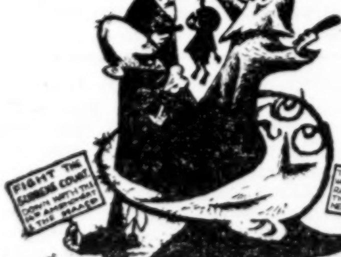
FBI LISTS: A rumor was afloat that FBI agents had been seen around the offices of the Mayor and of the Police Commissioner, Montgomery's center of the White Citizens Council. Could it be that, in response to countrywide appeals to the Justice Dept., FBI chief Hoover had sought and found a way to aid the Negro's fight for civil rights? Readers of the **Advertiser** then learned from a brief but conspicuous story that

> ". . . FBI agents are known to have secured a complete list of Negroes indicted and arrested on charges of boycotting the Montgomery City Lines [but] . . . had no comment . . . [except that] the list was to be sent to the Washington FBI office for informational use."

By the weekend of Feb. 26 support for Negro Montgomery had spread throughout the country. UN Undersecy. Gen. Ralph Bunche wired congratulations. Catholic and Protestant ministers on Sunday commended the idea of "passive resistance." All 24 of the indicted Montgomery ministers pledged from pulpits to carry on. Mr. King said:

> "Were we to stop right now we would have won a victory, because the Negro has achieved from this struggle a new dignity. But we are not going to stop. We are going on in the same spirit of love and protest and with the same dignity we have shown in the past."

"WE ARE GOING ON IN THE SPIRIT OF LOVE AND PROTEST . . ."
Several of the Negro ministers arrested in the Montgomery roundup


FIGHT THE
THE SUPERIOR WHITE ANGLO-SAXON RACE MUST KEEP THE INFERIOR NEGRO IN HIS PLACE
EASTLAND
Korff

George Korff in California Eagle
VOICE OF MISSISSIPPI

National deliverance day of prayer

DAILY ONE-HOUR prayer meetings beginning this week will be followed by a "national deliverance day of prayer" on March 28, according to plans announced by Rep. Adam C. Powell (D-N. Y.), pastor of New York's Abyssinian Baptist Church. Powell called for the move the day after Montgomery's round-up of leaders of the Montgomery bus boycott.

The national passive resistance protest was endorsed by an emergency meeting of ministers called by Rep. Powell. The plan involves work stoppage and abstention from school by Negroes between 2 and 3 p.m. Firemen, policemen and hospital attendants would be exempted. Ministers in Baltimore, Columbus, O., and Washington, D. C., agreed immediately.

Senior Bishop Sherman L. Greene of the AME Church announced in Atlanta that the Council of Bishops, in response to an appeal from 300 Baltimore ministers, would meet in closed session in Washington to act on issues raised by the boycott. Those issues are expected to be the main topics of discussion at a Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in Washington March 4-6.

5 YEARS' HIDING

CP leader Green gives himself up

FOR FIVE YEARS the FBI has been scouring the countryside for Gil Green, Chicago Communist leader. He had failed to appear for sentencing in July, 1951, with others of the top U. S. Communist Party leadership convicted under the conspiracy provisions of the Smith Act.

On Feb. 24 the political refugee sent a press release to U. S. wire services that he would surrender at noon Monday, Feb. 27, at Foley Square. A huge crowd, mostly well-wishers, was on hand when, promptly at noon, Gil Green "surfaced" among a horde of FBI agents, newsreel and press photographers, etc., on the steps of the Foley Square federal courthouse. As to where he had been hiding, Green said

"I've been in People's Town, U. S. A., at the corner of Constitution Avenue and Bill of Rights Street." Then he added: "Let's just say I've been enjoying a warm winter."

With a final jibe at the FBI ("Now they can release a couple of hundred agents and use them to restore order in Alabama") he offered a press statement on a forthcoming book, **The Enemy Forgotten,** and surrendered for detention until March 12. On that date a federal judge will hear argument on whether he should be punished for contempt in addition to his five-year sentence.

'We submit the time has come . . .'

DR. LUTHER FOSTER, president of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, last year issued a "race relations" report to replace the 20-year-old lynching survey because "it no longer reflected Negro-white relations accurately." His report made no direct criticism of white-supremacist mistreatment of Negroes. He said in his report for this year:

> "Recent court decisions established a climate of permissiveness in human relations within the framework of the clearly stated principle that segregation in public services on the basis of color or race is contrary to federal law [and that] continued improvement can come if leaders at all levels take increased initiative in promoting democratic discussions and responsible action on community problems and on opportunities for healthy community development. . . . Overall, there seems to be definite progress toward desegregation."

Observing that the report "contains not a single word of protest" and shows "no alarm" over anti-Negro activities in the South, the Baltimore **Afro-American** (1/7) called the attitude "shocking" and said:

> "No wonder that 80 years after its founding, faculty members at Tuskegee still are denied the vote in Macon County. The school has never given the community the kind of leadership it deserves. It is this kind of timidity which forces bolder and more determined persons to come in and do the long-neglected job. We submit the time has come for Tuskegee to cease playing the role of a boot-licker. It should either take the lead in compelling surrounding communities to comply with the law or quit."

FOR A FAST $1

you can send National Guardian to a friend for the next 6 months.

• •

Enclosed $1, send a six month sub to:

....
Name

....
Address

....
City, Zone, State

....
Sent by

Sub Dept., 17 Murray St. N. Y C. 7

THE SCHOOL AID BILL

Powell's amendment: what it proposes, who is against it

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER in a special message on Jan. 12 proposed a 5-year $2 billion federal aid program for public school construction, $250,000,000 annually in outright grants, and a $750,000,000 total in federal credits toward 470,000 classrooms. It called for states and local governments to continue present building programs while matching the extra federal funds, "poorer" states paying $1 to every $2 from the government and "richer" states covering every federal dollar with $2 of their own.

Although a bill by Rep. Augustine B. Kelley (D-Pa.) was already awaiting House action from the previous session, Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R-N. J.) immediately introduced one embodying the President's proposals.

Both the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** and the **Times** foresaw an "uncertain" reception for this revised bill in the Democratic-controlled Congress. The **H-T** wondered whether Northern supporters of school-integration had strength

> ". . . to attach a desegregation rider to any federal-aid bill in an effort to restrict federal grants to states which are not in compliance with the Supreme Court's school integration order."

FILIBUSTER THREAT: The **Times** feared that adoption of such an amendment "could start a Southern filibuster designed to talk the bill to death." The fact that the bill carried no funds for parochial or other private schools, it said,

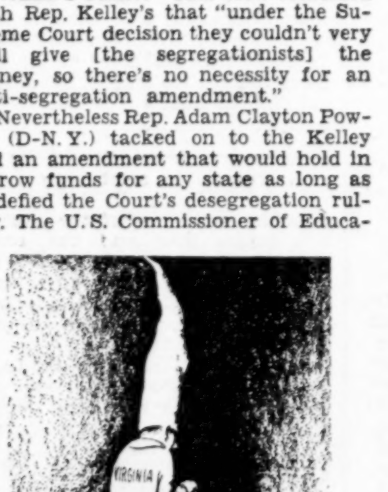
> ". . . might provide a financial lever against the Southern states' threat to abolish their public school systems and give state tax support instead to private schools, circumventing the Supreme Court decision holding segregation by races unconstitutional."

That omission, on the other hand, the **Times** said, "might serve simply to solidify Southern opposition to the whole program." That opposition developed by the end of January. House Rules Committee chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) said all congressmen to whom he had spoken would vote against the bill. Rep. William M. Colmer (D-Miss.) said he believed pro-segregation states would get no federal assistance even if an anti-jimcrow rider was not adopted. Colmer said:

> "The so-called poor states would in the end get nothing out of it, because they have made up their minds—this is not debatable—they are not going to have integration in their schools."

POWELL'S PLAN: This view coincided with Rep. Kelley's that "under the Supreme Court decision they couldn't very well give [the segregationists] the money, so there's no necessity for an anti-segregation amendment."

Nevertheless Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N. Y.) tacked on to the Kelley Bill an amendment that would hold in escrow funds for any state as long as it defied the Court's desegregation ruling. The U. S. Commissioner of Education could release funds for counties or other subdivisions within such states, if and when they desegregated their schools.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
THERE HE SITS

Walter Lippmann in his syndicated column (2/2) spoke for some opponents of the rider when he wrote that Powell "would do well not to play politics with the public schools" by insisting on his amendment, for

> "if the amendment is adopted and the school aid bill is defeated, the cause of integration will suffer, [because] federal aid will be withheld from precisely those states and school districts where it is most needed."

Powell's amendment won support from the NAACP and many congressmen. AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Walter Reuther favored it but Pres. George Meany called it unnecessary, holding that President Eisenhower must withhold funds from states that defy the court order. Answering a letter to the **Times** by former Bd. of Education Pres. James Marshall, Powell wrote (2/13) that his amendment "would not force states to desegregation"; that they "could take as long as they wanted to . . . they simply would not receive any federal funds as long as they were in open defiance of the law. . . ."

Replying to those who say the President already has power to withhold funds from jimcrow schools, Powell declared last week that if such a policy statement came from the White House, "there would be no need for any amendment." He said he had received no reply to a wire querying the President on that point.

THE KILLERS: The NAACP, recently reminding all branches that "our stand is as it was last year, that no federal funds for school construction should go to states which do not comply with the Supreme Court ruling," explained:

> "Such an amendment will not deny funds to any state that is law-abiding. It will not 'kill' the school bill. The people who will 'kill' the bill, if it is killed, will be those Senators and Representatives who are determined to keep segregation even if the rest of the U. S. does not get any federal aid for schools."

The view of the Negro press, close to 100% for the Powell amendment, is fairly summed up in a N. Y. **Amsterdam News** editorial (2/4):

> "In other words, the amendment says to the communities: 'If you want better schools, you've got to build them under the integrated policy of the law of this land.' We can't see how the **Times** can call this 'irrelevant.' Would the editors of the **Times** suggest that building a jimcrow school is better than building an integrated school? We think not. . . .
>
> "The South has already flouted the Supreme Court decision since it was first handed down. How can one arm of our government explain spending millions of dollars on a cause which another arm of that same government has declared unconstitutional? . . . If the South wants good schools, let it get them in the right way. We stand with Mr. Powell on his amendment. We hope he stands fast."

Dixiecrat opposition to the bill is equally strong regarding its labor standards provision: that the U. S. Commissioner of Education be assured, before giving money for school construction projects, that prevailing wage rates and time-and-a-half for overtime for work exceeding the 8-hour day and 40-hour week would be paid the project workers. Dixiecrat congressmen say that provision would encroach on the states' rights to regulate their own wage rates.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA TODAY

The political power of the South

By W. E. B. DuBois

WHAT EFFECT DOES the disfranchisement of Negroes have on democracy in the U. S.? This is a question of national importance. It does not rest on sectional jealousy or bitter memories of the Civil War. It is not a question of race prejudice or of love or hate for Negroes. It is a practical question of democratic government in the U. S.; of permitting public opinion and not private wealth to rule.

As matters stand today, representation in Congress rests on population. If any part of the population is not allowed to vote, then representation in Congress should not be based on this disfranchised part. It is the law that Negroes are American citizens and must be counted in basing representation in Congress. Any section or state which counts the Negro population as basis for its representation in Congress, and then does not allow citizens to vote, not only degrades Negroes but takes from other parts of the nation power which belongs to them. It transfers this power to the disfranchising section. It rewards lawlessness with power. It distorts and ruins democracy. For instance:

SIX AND SIX, BUT . . .: Mississippi and Kansas had about the same population in 1950, and each had in Congress six Representatives, based on that population. Yet Kansas needed 600,000 voters to elect her six Congressmen, while only 150,000 voters were needed in Mississippi. Practically each voting Mississippian went to the polls with four ballots in his hand, where the Kansan had one. Yet Mississippi is one of the most illiterate and lawless states in the Union, and Kansas one of the most intelligent and law-abiding.

Why does Mississippi wield such political power? Because she disfranchises her Negro population and many of her whites, and yet uses that same disfranchised population as basis for her representation in Congress. We reward her crime against democracy by giving her four times as much political power as she deserves.

What can be done about this nullification of democracy in the U. S. by states which for nearly a century have refused to obey the national will?

- We can reduce their representation in Congress, or refuse to seat any of the representatives from such a state.
- We can encourage participation in democracy by basing representation in Congress on the votes cast and not on population.
- The Federal government can take charge of Federal elections and count the votes, and not leave them at the mercy of local politicians who can enhance their own power by disregard of Federal law, or by state laws which conflict with national law. No other nation on earth has, like the U. S., surrendered its power over its own elections to officials over whom it has no control.

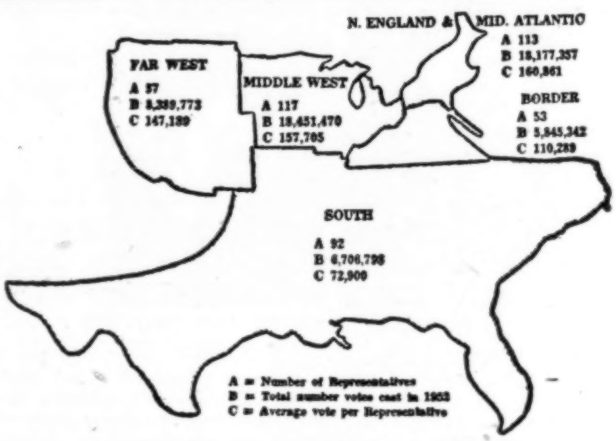
NO CANDIDATE SPEAKS: Why does no candidate of either the Democratic or Republican Party even mention, much less discuss, this matter? How can Eisenhower and Stevenson afford not to discuss Negro disfranchisement? Why does no candidate or prospective candidate ask and answer these pertinent questions:

- Can a state refuse to obey the U. S. Constitution?
- Can a state repudiate a Supreme Court decision?
- Will the world believe us when we thus let democracy be nullified?

It may be answered that disfranchisement gradually is disappearing in the South. Is this true, and how far is it true? There are no official figures and no state is compelled to collect or report such figures. Our only unfailing measure is the number of votes cast, and even this depends entirely on what state officials say. The Federal government has no check on these reports.

The nation stands helpless. If Southern Negroes could vote, the states would have greater chance to obey the national will. Only national action can save national democracy.

Listen, Fellow Boobs: Just why should the South, most of which is about to secede and use Force and Violence to nullify national law—just why should the South with six and a half million votes, have 92 Congressmen while the Far West with eight million votes has 52?



A distorted map of the U. S. showing the disproportionate power of the South.

The elections of 1952

Section	*Votes Cast*	*Rep. Elected*	*Votes per Rep.*
South	6,706,798	92	72,900
Border States	5,845,342	53	110,289
Far West	8,389,773	57	147,189
Middle West	18,451,470	117	157,705
N. E. & Mid. Atl.	18,177,357	113	160,861
TOTAL	57,570,740	432	

SOURCE: Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Election Nov. 4, 1952. Compiled from official sources by Earl Rockwood under direction of Lyle O. Snader, Clerk of the House of Representatives. Corrected to May 12, 1953.

Guatemala patriot seized in Mexico; life in peril

VICTOR MANUEL GUTIERREZ, 33, head of the Guatemalan Confederation of Labor that served as a backbone to his country's democracy before it was overthrown, was in a Mexican jail last week. Many feared he might be quietly handed over to the government of Castillo Armas for imprisonment, torture or death.

When his country fell, Gutierrez, plainly a marked man, fled to Mexico, where he joined the staff of the Confederation of Latin American Trade Unions, headed by Lombardo Toledano. The Mexican government has been under constant pressure, reportedly from Washington, to harass the Guatemalan refugees despite its hitherto sacred right of asylum. Protests may be sent direct to President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, Mexico, D. F.

TAKE YOUR HAND OUT OF THEIR POCKETS, UNCLE SAM

Must the pioneers be robbed of their old age pensions?

By Michael Gold

RECENTLY THE SOCIAL SECURITY Administration has deprived five Communists of their old age pensions. It is another of those senseless acts by which the inheritors of the government of Lincoln and Roosevelt expect to win their "cold war" against the people.

Last November one of the **World-Telegram** bloodhounds smelled out another secret "Moscow plot." The hound revealed that Alex Bittelman, 72-year-old Marxist author in prison for his opinions under the Smith Act, was still receiving his old age pension. Nearly all of it went to support his wife; a small bit was deposited in the prison commissary. The pension was promptly stopped. The commissary fund was also seized. No more candy bars or cigarettes for Communists. Mr. Bittelman even received a notice asking him to refund the thousand dollars he had already received.

William Z. Foster, 75, Jacob (Pop) Mindel, 75, also in jail despite a failing heart, Alfred Wagenknecht and Mrs. Jacob Mindel, have been made victims of the same official malice.

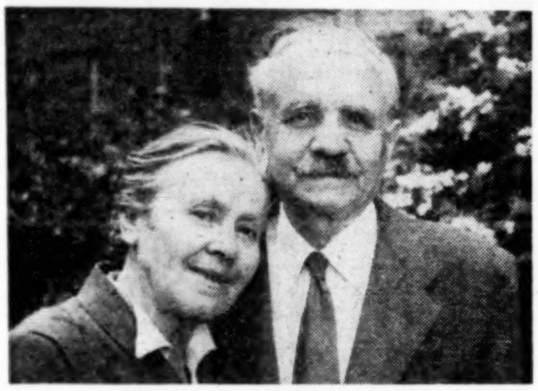
The Government's claim is that these people were employed by a "foreign government," hence were ineligible for the pensions. But since 1936, when the social security laws were passed, the Administration has been asking and getting the usual withholding taxes from the Communist Party's weekly payrolls. These payments are still being taken every week. No insurance company could thus receive your installments over a long series of years, then legally refuse you the endowments for which you'd been paying.

McCarthyism still lives in Washington, as in Mississippi, and takes many forms. One of its doctrines, as used in this case, is that certain groups of Americans are no longer human; thus are outside all human law. Southern fascists and racists preach such devil's theology against the Negro people. Hitler bestially practised it against many millions of people. The Administration has been guilty of the same usage of Communists, even to the robbing of their old age pensions.

BEWARE, O AMERICA, of this doctrine. It is always a first step in the brutalization of a land, as history has shown. The warriors of the big lie assure you they are out to get only Lenin and Stalin. All the time they are maneuvering the denigration of Lincoln and Roosevelt.

The old age pensions of Foster, Mindel and the others are part of your own Bill of Rights. Ask not, O democrat, for whom the fascist bell tolls. It tolls also for thee!

May I at this point impolitely mention, too, that millions of Americans who receive unemployment insurance, old age pensions and other social benefits, owe a great debt to these same Communists?



JACOB AND REBECCA MINDEL

A confined heart is a failing one

The social security laws weren't handed on a silver platter to the American people. The laws did not even originate with President Roosevelt. They resulted out of the campaign begun by the Communists in 1930, several years before Roosevelt.

Hoover, that fat-cheeked Wall Street barefoot boy, displayed a remarkable futility as well as heartlessness when the storm came in 1929. For many months he and his crowd denied that there was any unemployment at all. It was all psychological, they said, and they called for songs and speeches of pious optimism to make the banshees go away.

Then there was their apple-peddling solution for unemployment, and the "block-aid" program, where each city block was supposed to care for its own victims. Everyone from J. P. Morgan to Norman Thomas hailed this last wonderful heap of bourgeois manure.

THE COMMUNISTS, a handful with a national membership of only 10,000, uttered a new word. They spread the idea that in a great emergency any righteous government owed its stricken people a living. It owed them unemployment insurance and relief. This simple doctrine, now accepted so widely, was then denounced by all the respectable, from J. P. Morgan to Norman Thomas, from the press, pulpit and trade union leaders. That stuffy labor-faker, Matthew Woll, screamed that unemployment insurance was another "Moscow plot," and Moscow had sent two million dollars to Foster to subvert the unemployed with the demands for "work or wages."

Then came March 6, 1930, when in dozens of American cities there were demonstrations of a million and a quarter people demanding justice, bread and social insurance.

There were over 100,000 people in Union Square, and never have I seen facing the people such an army of police clubbers and torturers—25,000, it was reported. The people marched to City Hall, where that jolly night-clubber and tin-box sport, Jimmy Walker, was the Mayor. A delegation tried to present the demands of the unemployed. Jimmy signalled to the cops in his genial way: "Serve them the ice cream." A ferocious slaughter began, the mad, inhuman clubbing often vented on the unemployed for several years. William Z. Foster, Robert Minor, Israel Amter and Harry Raymond, of the delegation, were arrested. They served long terms in the foul cells of the city jail. Foster's health was probably damaged for life by this experience.

Foster is now full of years and honor, so the bloodhounds of the cold war have marked him down. They have done everything to him; now they descend to petty spite and snatch at his old age pension. The Americans to whom unemployment insurance and social security protections have become a necessary part of life, owe a great debt to Foster and his comrades. Surely, when the news of the persecution is known, that debt will be gratefully rendered.

P.S.: Send your protest to Mr. Charles M. Lunz, New York 13, N. Y., or to Social Security Administration, Baltimore, Md. Mr. Harry Sacher, 342 Madison Av., New York City, is the attorney for the victims.

Corruption of oil

(Continued from Page 1)

committee to look into **all** lobbying. Just how deeply the committee will probe into oil and gas influence is a question. Thomas L. Stokes, the Washington columnist, has warned that "an investigation of the Oil Lobby would, before it had gone very far, become an investigation of Congress itself—of Senate and House members who have received campaign contributions from the big oil barons."

WHO'S INNOCENT? How true! What Senator or Congressman from Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas or California can come forward and swear that no oil and gas money put him in his seat? Of the 72 Congressmen from these oil states less than a handful could maintain their innocence of oil taint. As Sen. Hennings (D-Mo.) said:

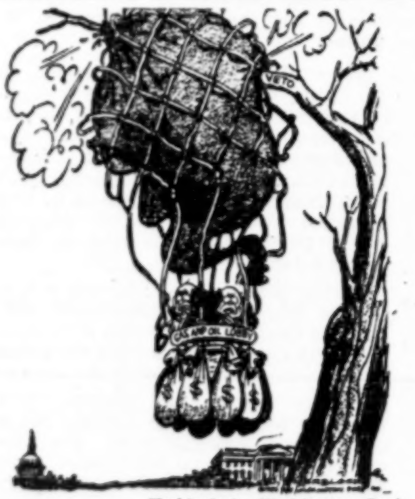
> "The concentrated money power of the great oil companies, wielded today to influence the decisions of national government by contributions to both parties in many parts of the United States, is a menace to the proper functioning of free government itself."

Or as Roscoe Fleming, the Denver **Post** columnist, put it, in reviewing an imagined book published in 1990, the BOP (Bipartisan Oil Party) changed the United States from a republic into an oligarchy, the so-called Empire of Oil. Paul E. Hadlick, himself an oil man representing independents in Washington, declared succinctly:

> "The oil industry is more than the United States Government and all the people in it."

As for the technique of controlling Congressmen, Robert Engler, writing in the **New Republic** recently, summed it up neatly in quoting an oil lobbyist:

> "You just put good, green folding money into their lily-white hands and be goddamn sure they know why you put it there."



Herblock in Washington Post

"A little less ballast and we'd have cleared it."

BACK-ROOM BOY: Surely the shame of bought-and-paid-for oil and gas lobbyists who occupy Congressional seats has never been spotlighted so pitilessly before. Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) publicly challenged them to refrain from voting on a bill in which they were financially interested but Sen. Bob Kerr (D-Okla.), part owner of a $100,000,000 oil and gas company, unblushingly voted to line his own pockets. Senators Fulbright and Monroney, about as liberal as Senators from oil states can afford to be, confessed that they had to go along because the oil crowd in their states would defeat them if they stood up in the public interest.

Or let us consider Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Democratic Party leader in charge of the gas bill. Columnist Drew Pearson reports that in 1938 Johnson, then a Congressman, hired a back room in a Washington hotel and handed out $110,000 in oil and gas money to needy Democrats for their campaigns. Of course Johnson comes from Texas, the private province of the oil corporations.

Back in 1947, Robert W. Calvert, then chairman of the Texas Democratic party, declared:

> "It may not be a wholesome thing to say, but the oil industry is in complete control of the state government and state politics. . . . The income from the oil industry is so great and the avenues and outlets of its influence so numerous and far-flung it can bring about any governmental program behind which it unites and defeat any program against it."

LOOKING IN THE MIRROR: So a good bit of sympathy should be extended the Senate special committee which proposes to investigate the oil and gas lobby among others. For the committee, if it is in earnest, will have to go to work first among its own most respectable members, Democratic Party Leader Lyndon Johnson and Republican Party Leader William F. Knowland, both creatures of the oil lobby. It will find, if it perseveres, that nearly every Senator and Congressman from the oil states is bought and paid for by the oil companies. Clint Murchison, one of the wealthiest Texas oil tycoons, in denying that he is a McCarthyite, put the finger on them: "Hell," he said, "I've got ten men in Congress who are better thought of than McCarthy. I don't need him for influence."

The committee will find that the Congress of the United States is polluted now as badly as it was back in the old days when John D. Rockefeller and his agents were handing out the greenbacks. It will find, in short, that Capitol Hill is so corrupted by oil and gas money that even the conservative occupant of the White House has to hold his nose. It must be pretty bad!

INFORMERS UNLIMITED

FBI chief glorifies stool pigeons as nation's protectors

STOOL PIGEONS, or "confidential informers," were defended by FBI chief J. E. Hoover in his annual report as "invaluable in protecting the national security." He credited stool-pigeon activity with 1,500 federal and state arrests last year. His defense was an answer to demands—some from Congressional committees—that the Justice Dept. produce its informers in so-called subversive cases. Hoover said:

> "The very nature of security work requires discreet silence concerning much of the intelligence and counter-intelligence information which has been gathered."

SILENT ON LYNCHINGS: The Hoover report made no mention of the Christmas Eve, 1951, bomb-murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, Florida NAACP leaders, or of the murders of two Negro men and the attempted murder of a third because they had expressed a desire to register and vote in Mississippi. It was similarly silent on the kidnapping and lynching of Emmett Louis Till.

It emphasized, instead, that "throughout 1955 confidential informants brought us vital intelligence data from the core of subversive conspiracies, including the Communist underground" and that "arrests and prosecution of Communist party leaders continued." It reported that nine CP leaders were convicted during the year, while trials of 19 others are in progress.

Hoover reported that FBI files now contain 28,000,000 sets of fingerprints in the criminal category and 110,000.000 in the non-criminal.

THE VISIT OF ITALY'S PRESIDENT

What Gronchi will discuss in Washington

By Ecco La Scolta
Special to the Guardian

ROME

ON FEB. 27, Giovanni Gronchi (pronounced Gron-ki), President of Italy, arrived in Washington for a state visit. For the first few days there were the usual ceremonial formalities, press photos of Gronchi performing the well-known rituals. But there were also serious matters on President Gronchi's program for discussion with U. S. leaders which have already created much speculation in Italy.

One point for discussion was Italy's status in NATO. Despite the successful efforts of former Premiers De Gasperi and Scelba to maneuver Italy into full participation in NATO, even the government coalition deputies who voted for it have never been enthusiastic about the venture. The simple facts are:

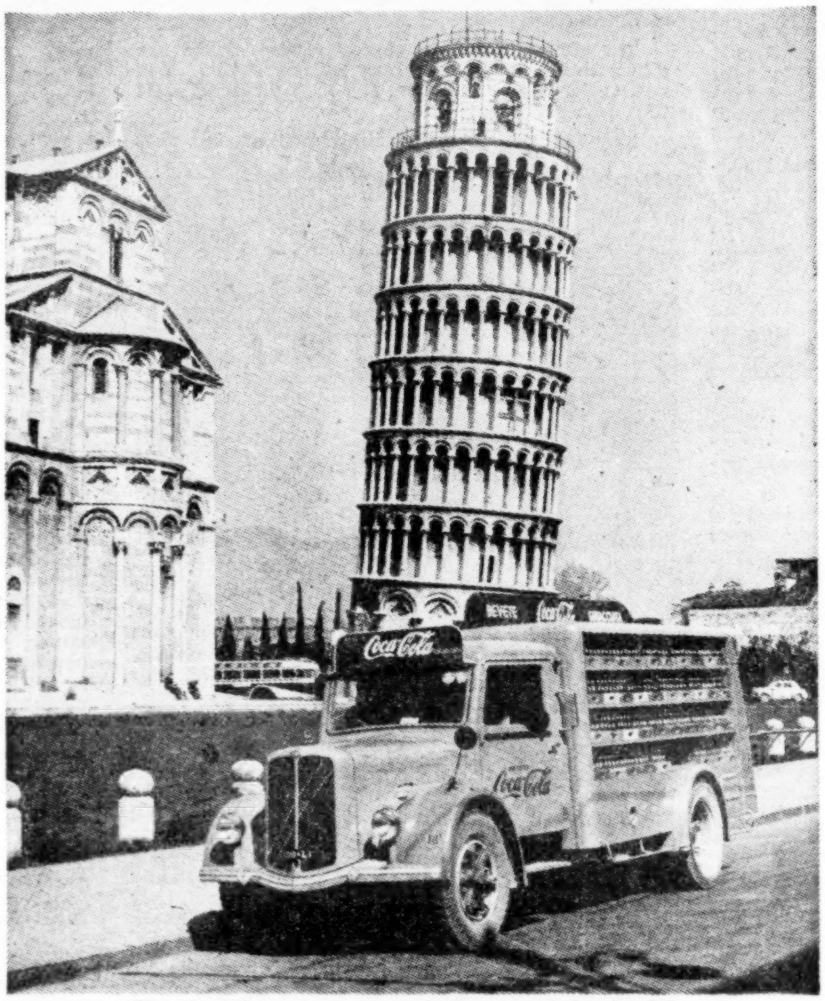
- No one in Italy—not even the most rabid anti-Communist—believes that there will be another war.
- The big Communist and Socialist parties have always been violently opposed to Italy's joining NATO.
- Italy's NATO "quota" is 500,000 men. The Italian army at present is under 200,000—and already the budget is severely strained to maintain that number.

PROBLEM OF THE ATOM: Because of lessening world tension, and her own internal problems. Italy may be the first NATO member seriously to "want out." Certainly Secy. Dulles would attempt frantically to prevent this. If Italy quit NATO it would provoke great agitation in France—and even in West Germany—to do the same. The U. S. would then be left such "loyal" allies as Portugal, Turkey and Pakistan.

Another Gronchi talking point may be contained in the recent hints by Pope Pius that the Vatican would like to mediate the atomic disarmament deadlock. A few days before the Pope's Christmas Day message, Gronchi paid his first formal state visit to the Vatican. There is little doubt that the atomic question was discussed, and it becomes especially pertinent because the Christian Democratic Party is the political expression of the Church, and Gronchi is a Christian Democrat.

A third topic is the desire of many UN officials to hold the next General Assembly in Rome. As a new UN member, Italy would gain tremendous prestige if it could act as host to the Assembly.

Even if these topics are largely kept under wraps, it is most apparent that there is a great deal of apprehension among Washington big-wigs over Gronchi's visit.



The leaning tower and the upright bottle

You might call this photograph of the Tower of Pisa and a Coca-Cola truck a blending of the Italian and American renaissance. Gagsters are now suggesting that hotel tycoon Conrad Hilton is seeking to buy the Tower and rename it The Tiltin' Hilton.

WHAT IS HE LIKE? Since this is the first close-up view Americans are having of Italy's President, a few personal facts about him are pertinent. Coming from an impoverished lower middle-class family in Tuscany, Gronchi is the Italian version of "poor boy to President." He worked his way through the University of Pisa by tutoring other students. He became a teacher but soon left the university and became involved in trade union activities.

After World War I, he helped to found the Popular Party and was elected to the Italian Parliament. A known opponent of fascism, he was offered—and accepted—a minor post in Mussolini's first cabinet. But the Fascists soon found him "uncooperative" and he was removed. When Mussolini cleaned house, Gronchi lost his seat in Parliament too.

During World War II, he was active in the anti-fascist underground and, with De Gasperi, represented the Popular Party (soon to become the Christian Democrats) on the Central Committee of Natl. Liberation.

After liberation, he was again elected a Deputy, held a cabinet post and took a leading role in the Christian Democratic Party. In May, 1948, he was chosen President of the Chamber of Deputies, an office he held until June, 1955, when he was elected President of Italy.

HIS ROLE AS PRESIDENT: The position of the Italian President is simillar to that of the President of France. Neither is in any sense the executive branch of the government, as in the U. S. Both are elected by the combined votes of the Senate and the Chamber.

The constitutional powers of the Italian President are limited. He cannot initiate legislation; he appoints only government officials immediately connected with his own office; he cannot openly engage in political debate.

He can, however, call the Prime Minister and Cabinet to consult on urgent matters and under cerain circumstances, can call for a dissolution of Parliament and a new election.

The Italian Republic and its constitution are only 10 years old. Much of what actually constitutes the duties and rights of the President is still open to interpretation, and a politically active individual—as Gronchi has shown himself to be—can establish certain precedents. This, together with a seven-year term, gives Gronchi much potential influence, especially in a period of political crisis.

WHERE HE STANDS: While Gronchi's elevation to the Presidency was extremely popular in Italy, the U. S. State Dept. did not bother to hide its chagrin. On hearing of his election to the Presidency, one U. S. Embassy official in Rome remarked that he was the "edge of the Communist wedge in the Italian government." There are many reasons:

Gronchi has never supported NATO or German re-armament. He has not been able to take a public stand on foreign policy issues, but in the party councils he has consistently criticized the "super-American" faction that dominated the Italian government.

He wants to come to terms with the Italian Left. Gronchi has always been an opponent of the Communists. But his attitude toward Nenni's Socialist Party has undergone considerable change in the last years. In 1948, for example, he referred to that party as "the Socialists of the Italian Communist Party." But in 1955, at the Congress of the Christian Democratic Party, Gronchi said:

> "Why should limited agreements (or compromises) with a Socialist Party be considered heretical in Italy when no one calls them that in France, Belgium, Germany, Austria and other countries where such agreement exists?"

SOMERSAULTS AND MANEUVERS

Mid-East & SE Asia mess leave U.S. leaders groggy

By Kumar Goshal

IN THE FACE of declining American prestige abroad, the Eisenhower Administration last month pulled two new boners in the Middle East and in Southeast Asia.

By a double somersault over the sale of military tanks to Saudi Arabia, the Administration created an uproar in Congress and increased tension in the Middle East. By conducting SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) war games near Bangkok, Thailand, the U. S. confirmed the Asians' belief that Washington's foreign policy was still based solely on military might.

The Administration indignantly condemned the Czech sale of arms to Egypt last fall because it "added to the tensions in the area and increased the risk of war." On Feb. 16 news leaked out of 18 American M-41 Walker Bulldog tanks being loaded on a freighter in Brooklyn bound for Saudi Arabia.

WASHINGTON WHIRL: The State Department at first denied knowledge of any such shipment, then admitted it. President Eisenhower in Georgia declared an embargo on the shipment, and 24 hours later reversed the order.

News of the tank deal and the Eisenhower Administration's on-again-off-again policy brought loud protests from many sources. Israel denounced the sale and Saudi Arabia demanded fulfillment of contractual agreements, reminding Washington that the tanks had been paid for.

The State Dept. explained that arms sales to Saudi Arabia have been continuous on the basis of a 1951 agreement granting the U. S. a military and air base in Dhahran in return for American arms and training. The Dhahran base is within bomber range of the Soviet Baku oil fields. The base agreement comes up for renewal this June. This explanation failed to satisfy questioners like the N. Y. Times' James Reston, who asked (2/22) why there was no

> ". . . check to see whether contracts signed long ago conformed with American policy at the moment of shipment."

WORDS VS. DEEDS: Since Washington has repeatedly warned of the dangers of arms sales to the Middle East, most recently in a declaration by President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Eden, how could it happen, columnist Walter Lippmann asked (2/21), "that the State Dept. had forgotten about its own approval of the sale of the Saudi Arabian tanks" negotiated just prior to the news of the Czech sale of arms to Egypt?

Secy. of State Dulles has been putting off Israel's urgent request for arms, claiming it would touch off an arms race. According to the **Christian Science Monitor** (2/17), many congressmen in Washington were wondering "how Dulles could preach impartiality" in arms sales while blocking aid to Israel and selling arms to Arab countries: "They want to know why words and deeds do not jibe." **CSM** reported that Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) felt the tank deal "had erased any moral grounds for objecting to Communist arms sales to Arab countries."

WORST SINCE KOREA: James Reston reported (**NYT,** 2/22) that uncertainty over "so many contradictory acts by the U. S. in the Middle East and South Asia" has created more apprehension in Washington "about the conduct of foreign policy than at any time since the Korean war." He said:

> "Reports from West Germany of the weakening of the pro-Western Adenauer coalition, reports of growing weakness in Turkey and of misuse of American economic aid in South Korea have all led to widespread demands, not merely for an investigation of the Middle Eastern situation, but for a searching inquiry into the whole purpose and machinery of American foreign policy."

SHOW THOSE NEUTRALS: While the tank deal was creating consternation in Washington, U. S.-sponsored SEATO was holding military exercises off the coast of Thailand.

(Continued on Page 7)

THE CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT—III

A program for the people of California

By Reuben W. Borough

(Last of three articles)

The first two articles told of the preventable floods that ravaged California and other Western states this winter and described the long battle of the people against the power trust to develop the state's great Central Valley. Following is an estimate of how the battle must finally be won.

LOS ANGELES

MOST PROFOUNDLY STIRRING is the sound democratic policy laid down as the undeviating law of the growth and development of California's vast Central Valley Project. This policy is expressed in two Reclamation Bureau directives:

Directive No. 1. Water rights are restricted to family-size farms. No single individual under Reclamation Law may have more water than enough to irrigate 160 acres and no man and wife more than enough to irrigate 320 acres. This prohibition attacks at the roots two particularly hateful social evils: land speculation and feudal landlordism.

Directive No. 2. Public bodies are to be given a preferential right to the project's hydro-electric power. The term, public bodies, includes cities and other political subdivisions as well as utility and irrigation districts. The Reclamation Bureau is a wholesaler of hydro-electric energy. It will not sell power to private power companies for resale and profit as long as there are public agencies which offer to take power and distribute it without profit to ultimate consumers.

THE BIG FIGHT: Unyielding defense of these two directives is called for.

The current move, covert as well as open, to abolish the water rights restriction rests upon the premise that the small farm—the family-size farm—is an inefficient unit and must give way to large-scale operation.

"Let the old American way of life on the farm go," say the Bonanza Farm advocates. "What we want is the maximum production which only unified ownership and direction of extensive acreage can give."

I think we must meet this argument. I think we must brand it false. The truth is that the family-size farm, under any fair social and economic conditions, would have little difficulty in surviving. It is the business of democratic government to see that fair social and economic conditions prevail.

As to the Reclamation Bureau's No. 2 Directive, private power opposes the provision that CVP wholesale its power first to public bodies and to the power companies only after the need of public bodies has been met.

DAILY NEWS, Los Angeles • TUESDAY, MAY 13, 1952
Millions asked for flood control emergency work
WASHINGTON, May 13.—(UP)—The House public works commit-
Billions asked for U. S. air bases
WASHINGTON, May 13.—(UP)—Air Force Secretary Thomas K. Finletter said today extra-base

Above, the rains turn the town of Venice, Calif., into a flooded replica of its namesake. The CVP would prevent such disasters and turn the state into a a lush vineyard such as the one shown at right.

THE ENEMY: Control of power distribution is but a step in the program for complete control of power generation—the wiping out of all the people's great agencies for the general welfare. And here is where we really come to grips with the power trust. Here is where we must blazon across the land this undeniable truth: the private power company is the enemy of the conservation program in California and the nation. The private power dam, operating for profit and for profit only, is necessarily a waster of one of our greatest natural resources: water. It spills water whenever it needs it for power and that water rushes to the sea. The private power dam cannot be integrated effectively into any program for the upbuilding of the physical or economic resources of this state or the country at large.

We cannot have the magnificent CVP program without publicly owned and publicly operated power dams—first, because their revenues help materially to defray the cost of the entire program; and, second, because only the public power dam will submit to use as part of a multiple-purpose project, all of whose dams must collaborate in disciplined fashion to serve the over-all conservation end. The private power dam is an anarch! It is not concerned with public welfare—indeed, it cannot be concerned with public welfare. Its sole function is to create profit and capital for its owner.

THE STEPS AHEAD: An immediate program for California calls for:

- Speed on the part of Congress in the necessary authorization and appropriations making possible the earliest realization of the entire five-billion-dollar construction plan of CVP.
- The rapid development and extension of publicly owned distribution systems (public utility, irrigation, municipal districts, etc.) to absorb the power generated by the Central Valley Project. While the power trust (the Pacific Gas & Electric Corp.) still purchases more than half of CVP-generated power, the percentage is being steadily reduced. As the Reclamation Bureau commented in May, 1952:

> "Most municipalities owning their own power distribution systems and other public agencies such as irrigation districts which are entitled to preference under Reclamation Law are still bound by five-year contracts with the P G & E. Many of these can become customers of the CVP as their contracts expire in the next year or two."

That this suggested development is becoming reality is shown by chart and statistics in the Bureau's 1954 Annual Report, which sets forth that at the end of 1954 CVP's electric energy sales to "preference customers" (public bodies) were only slightly under the sales to P G & E and that these "preference customers"—including the new customer, the Sacramento Municipal Utility District—increased their purchases from 184,910,863 kilowatt hours in 1953 to 703,465,616 kilowatt hours in 1954. There must be no interruption in this trend by advocates of "partnership" deals or other forces. All of CVP's hydro-electric power should be publicly distributed.

- The Los Angeles **Times'** phony Feather River Project, a $1,500,000,000 state program free from the public-power-preference and anti-land-monopoly mandates of Reclamation Law must be killed off (as must all other diversionary legislation) and Feather River development brought into the Central Valley Project. Flood control and power generation on the Feather River and Yuba River, scene of recent heavy flood losses, should have immediate consideration.
- The strongest kind of pressure should be brought to bear upon Congress, which has appropriated a quarter of a billion dollars for the Trinity River Diversion Project as part of the Reclamation Bureau's Central Valley Project, to commit the project unequivocally against any kind of partnership deals with either the power trust or the land monopolists. The requirements for public preference on power and water rights limitation on land must hold.
- A withering fire should be directed against the politicos of both political parties who have either sold out to the power trust or been terrorized into silence by it.

FOR THE FUTURE: In 1912, in its founding convention, the pioneering Progressive Party of America laid down the line of patriotic Americanism for the development and protection of the nation's basic resources. Then it proclaimed the nation's "obligation . . . to develop our rivers . . . without delay under a comprehensive general plan covering each river system, from its source to its mouth, designed to secure its highest usefulness for navigation, irrigation, domestic supply, water power and the prevention of floods."

No program less sweeping will satisfy the intelligence and the conscience of a progressive, democratic America, with love and reverence for its homeland and a passionate determination to protect and glorify it for its children and its children's children.

Middle East mess

(Continued from Page 6)

Of the eight SEATO members, Pakistan and France did not participate, the Philippines supplied some infantry and Thailand some army and police forces. It was largely an American and British show, with some support from Australia and New Zealand. The reason: to impress neutrals and hold in line wavering U. S. allies.

Despite membership in SEATO, Pakistan has agreed to hold trade negotiations with Moscow to exchange its jute, cotton, handicraft products and sports equipment for Soviet steel, automobiles, trucks, tractors and machinery for heavy industry.

The pro-Western caretaker government of Indonesia has been forced by public pressure and Dutch intransigence to repudiate the 1949 treaty with the Netherlands, which granted the Dutch special economic, financial and cultural privileges.

FRIENDLY CAMBODIA: **CSM** reported (2/16) that, even as the SEATO war games were being held, Thailand was "wavering between its [SEATO] commitments and a policy of neutralism"; and that Cambodia's Premier Prince Sihanouk had signed a treaty of friendship with Peking and had taken his country out of the SEATO defense orbit. This action by Thailand's neighbor Cambodia, **CSM** said, may well have "far greater long-range significance than the SEATO war games."

Trouble was brewing in S. Vietnam under the U. S-supported Diem government. Diem, with Washington's acquiescence, has refused to confer with the N. Vietnam government for holding nationwide elections in July called for by the Geneva accord. He has scheduled local elections for Mar. 4, without permitting democratic liberties to four political parties. When Dr. Phan Quang Dan, spokesman for these parties, protested against electoral restrictions, he was promptly arrested by Diem's police (**CSM**, 2/20).

OIL BASE: Meanwhile, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai has asked London and Moscow to call a full-dress conference on Vietnam, involving the nine countries that participated in the 1954 Geneva conference: U. S., Britain, France, the U. S. S. R., China, Cambodia, N. and S. Vietnam and Laos. Premier Chou has proposed the inclusion of India, Poland and Canada, who make up the international control commission in Vietnam charged with seeing that the 1954 Geneva agreements were properly carried out.

U. S. influence in both the Middle East and Southeast Asia was obviously weakening, but it was doubtful that the latest calls for "agonizing reappraisal" would be any more fruitful than in the past. American foreign policy can hardly change without altering its economic base. The Saudi Arabian tank deal, as Rep. Emanuel Celler has charged, was influenced by "oil interests." In fact, for the last three decades American and British oil interests have been at the root of the whole Middle Eastern turmoil, including the present Israeli-Arab conflict.

PAUL DRAPER DANCES

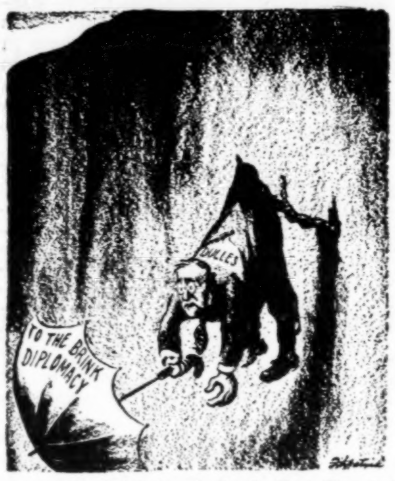
at the GUARDIAN CONCERT
at Carnegie Hall. See p. 9.

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

ment, promised a "sweeping review" of the entire range of U. S. policy and summoned Secy. Dulles to a Foreign Relations Committee hearing. On its eve, however, Democrats agreed to confine the review to the Middle East and indications were that it would sweep neither far nor deep.

NEW FANTASY: Dulles' Alice in Wonderland interpretation of the Soviet Communist Party's recent Congress (that Western power and success have forced the U.S.S.R. to change its policies which have failed) dumbfounded the Washington diplomatic corps; it was ridiculed by some Democratic Senators and was believed by no one including the Secretary himself. The explanation for Dulles' "astonishing" performance lies, said James Reston (N.Y. **Times**, 2/26) in "domestic politics."



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch

But it made a hot feature story

A genuine re-examination and revision of American policy was not yet in sight even though, as Walter Lippmann pointed out (2/21), Washington has in the past half year "suffered the biggest and most serious setback since the Communist victory in China." The **NYT** (2/26) unwittingly revealed why. It said:

> "We are really debating methods, not objectives . . . We do not have to decide again the great fundamental questions of our time. . . . On basic policies there is general agreement. . . . What then is all the complaining about? It has to do with the way the State Dept. is trying to do good things."

WRONG PREMISE: But if objectives are unrealizable, no methods, however efficient, will suffice. The objectives of Washington's "policy of strength" (to maintain and extend the privileged and dominant position of U. S. capitalism) have become unrealizable. One thing that has gone wrong with American foreign policy, wrote the Alsops (2/24) "is the simple fact that it is based on a premise that is no longer true—that the U. S. and only the U. S. is capable of massive retaliation." The Alsops' answer to this "simple fact" was "a crash program to assure, at the very least, that Churchill's peace of mutual terror is truly mutual . . . and a basic revision of American policy to meet the new situation of atomic stalemate." But this answer—typical of many now being given—is self-contradictory: the basic revision is made impossible by the continuance and acceleration of the "policy of strength."

Current alarm, criticism, and general hullaballoo about U. S. foreign policy stem directly from Washington's fear of the outcome of peaceful competition with the socialist world. One of Washington's chief purposes in launching the cold war was to avoid meeting that test. Today its fears are greater. **Business Week** (2/25) referred to "the Pandora's box of ugly problems" created by the Soviet challenge of peaceful competition. According to some Western diplomats, it said, the U. S. now faces this dilemma: "(1) meet Moscow halfway . . . in its bid for competitive coexistence; or (2) rebuff the Communist bid. . . ." If we follow the first course, "we will run the danger of playing into the Kremlin's hands." If the second, "we take the equally great risk of becoming isolated. This second position would require much heavier military expenditures and, perhaps, a readiness to face all-out war."

THE "ANSWERS": To protagonists of the "policy of strength," all-out war is the final test of strength and may come to offer the only way of avoiding the "threat" of peaceful competition with socialism. Soviet planning chief Maxim Saburov made this latter point graphic when he told the Soviet CP Congress that had it not been for World War II, Soviet production would by 1960 have equalled, even surpassed, that of the U. S.; and that the U. S. S. R. would now be producing roughly 75% more steel, oil, and electric power. (World War II destroyed over $200 billion worth of Soviet factories, homes, goods, etc., while it spurred a huge increase in U. S. productive capacity.)

All-out war today, Soviet leaders warned at the Congress, means devastation for the U. S., too. It is this fact which has created the intolerable dilemma for the cold warriors.

On the one hand, the dilemma is met by threats such as that of Air Force Secy. Quarles to use all "needed" weapons (i.e. atomic) even in a "little" war, and by the accelerated atomic buildup here and at U. S. overseas bases. On the other, it is met by such gestures as the President's authorizing sale or lease of 88,000 pounds of Uranium 235—worth $1,000,000,000—for peaceful production at home and abroad. (Socialist countries and those already able to produce U 235 are excluded; the European country "most needing atomic assistance," according to the **NYT**, 2/26, is W. Germany.)

EMPTY PROMISES: The President's gesture was intended to offset Soviet claims to leadership in peaceful uses of the atom and to divert attention from the Soviet plan to build atomic power stations with an aggregate capacity of 2 to 2.5 million kilowatts in the next five years.

But its effectiveness was somewhat reduced by the testimony of AEC Commissioner Thomas E. Murray before Congress. Predicting that the U. S. would have "only a token amount of industrial atomic power before 1959," Murray warned that it was in danger of defaulting on its "sweeping promises to the world concerning atomic power," while the U. S. S. R.'s "immense public resources" are being mobilized to fill the gap. He lauded the President's offer of uranium fuel but indicated it would be largely useless without the atomic plants it is designed to feed and without know-how and technicians to use it.

Nothing was said in the President's message about either and Murray seemed to suggest that the U. S. has neither the technicians nor the know-how to give.

A notable feature of the present crisis atmosphere over U. S. foreign policy is that the American people generally, as Doris Fleeson pointed out (N. Y. **Post**, 2/23), do not share in Washington's urgency and alarm. She attributed this to their "confidence in the military father image." But it could be that people generally do not see any real threat in Soviet offers to build dams on the Nile or in Czech purchases of Lebanese oranges.

NEW TRENDS: In the present increasingly fluid international situation, opportunities are being created to break down the myths of the cold war (see Kumar Goshal, p. 6). In France, for example, Socialist Premier Mollet felt compelled in his inaugural address (2/1) to declare that "the road to German reunification runs via disarmament." Washington and London found in this, and in subsequent statements by Foreign Minister Pineau, evidence of a French leaning to the U. S. S. R.'s formula on German reunification. To some French publicists, a real French initiative on disarmament seems the only way France can regain its status among the great powers.

In Britain, where the Tory Government has tried to keep the coming visit of Soviet leaders Khrushchev and Bulganin "formal and fairly distant" (**NYT**, 2/26), "moderate" as well as left labor leaders are urging that they have extensive contacts with labor politicians and workers. This, some suggest, might permit a Soviet-British effort to explore the possibilities of ending the cold war.

Even in W. Germany new alignments are underway as the coalition of Chancellor Adenauer breaks up. Following the Socialist-Free Democrat victory in ousting the Christian Democrats from control of N. Rhine-Westphalia, W. Germany's largest state, the Free Democratic Party split: 16 of its Parliament members lined up with Adenauer. The 37 who followed the leadership of the N. Rhine-Westphalia group were expelled from the coalition by Adenauer. An agreement reached with the Socialists permits Adenauer to go ahead with rearmament legislation even though he has lost his two-third control of the upper house. But his position is weakened and political forces are clearly moving in new directions.

The scholar

DURING the questioning by [Sen.] Humphrey . . . Dulles conceded Saudi Arabia has "the most curious customs." He thought their "particular animosity towards Jews" came from a belief that the Jews killed Mohammed.

Dulles said that one of his associates had whispered "that I am wrong," but Dulles said he thought he was correct. He promised to look up the history books on this point.

N. Y. Post, 2/26.

MAXINE SULLIVAN SINGS
at the GUARDIAN CONCERT
at Carnegie Hall. See p. 9.

Sobell's mother greeted in England

MRS. ROSE SOBELL, mother of Morton Sobell who is serving in Alcatraz a 30-year prison term imposed at the trial of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, arrived in Britain by the Cunard liner Queen Elizabeth Feb. 22. On the previous day she was summoned by the British immigration officer on board and told she would not be allowed to land. Later she was told she could land, and after long questioning she was granted permission to stay for three weeks instead of the usual visitor's three months. She had a U.S. passport stamped as invalid for "those portions of China under Communist control."

Friends in London, on receipt of her message that she was barred from coming ashore, had immediately contacted the Natl. Council for Civil Liberties and several MP's who had telephoned the Home Office for an explanation. The ship was met at Southampton by a lawyer briefed by the NCCL and GUARDIAN editor-in-exile Cedric Belfrage. Mrs. Sobell said:

> "There are many friends in Britain who are concerned about the terrible thing that has been done to my son, people who cannot be silent in the face of injustice and who joined in the world-wide fight to save the Rosenbergs. They want to know more about the case and I will do what I can to explain it to them.
>
> "I asked one of the officials who questioned me on the boat whether he had a mother and how he thought she would feel if her son was sent to prison for 30 years. He was very understanding but said they were just carrying out orders. I felt sure that the British would not insist on excluding a mother whose remaining hope is that people everywhere will speak out to right this wrong."

In the course of her questioning on the ship Mrs. Sobell, who said she was going to visit with friends, was asked: "How do you know they are your friends if you have never met them?" As soon as the ship docked, a flower corsage was delivered to her with a warm letter of welcome from a delegation of Southampton women who awaited her on the pier. When the boat train reached London at midnight, another group of friends whom she had never met welcomed her at the station.

The Meaning of the Soviet Communist Party Congress

4 WEDNESDAYS, MARCH 7, 14, 21, 28 — 8:30 P.M.

MARCH 7: The 6th Five-Year Plan: Can the Soviets Outdistance the United States? —DAVID GOLDWAY

MARCH 14: Question of Peaceful Co-existence and the Inevitability of War. —JOSEPH CLARK

MARCH 21: Different Roads to Socialism. —MILTON HOWARD

MARCH 28: New Emphasis in Communist Leadership: Collective Work, Democracy, Criticism and Self-Criticism. —JOHN GATES

Fee for the Series: $3 — Single Admission: $1

JEFFERSON SCHOOL, 575 Av. of the Americas WA 9-1600

NEW YORK

ANNUAL SPRING BAZAAR

THURSDAY, MARCH 15 — 4-11 p.m.

FRI. & SAT., MARCH 16 & 17 — 11 a.m.-11 p.m.

77 FIFTH AVENUE (near 15th Street)

Millinery, Leather Goods, Jewelry, Glass and Pottery, Women's, Men's and Children's Apparel, etc.

Excellent home-cooked luncheons and dinners.

Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 E. 32d St. MU 3-2080

Events, Forums, Rallies, Hootenannies — check the GUARDIAN for places to go.

Paul Draper dances in Brooklyn concert

Paul Draper will be featured in a concert at the Brooklyn Academy of Music Sat., March 10, at 8:30 p.m. Other performers include Hesh Bernardi, Rita Karpinovitch, Leon Bibb with the Roy Godes folk singers and the Jewish Youth Chorus. Tickets are $2.50, $1.30 and $1.15, obtainable at Jewish Shul Parents Council, 302 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn.

Grateful Canadian

TORONTO, CANADA

Please enter my sub for your very valuable publication. Cheque enclosed for a year. Am grateful to friends who introduced me to it.

M. W.

BOOKS

Come take a ride on the tiger's back

RARELY DOES the West publish a good novel about India. More rarely still does it publish one written by an Indian. Therefore it is a pleasure to report a doubly rare event: the publication of Bhabani Bhattacharya's brilliant novel, **He Who Rides a Tiger***, the January Liberty Book Club choice.

Indians, like other colonials, suffered from cultural suppression by their erstwhile British rulers. Although India has a great cultural tradition, and its literature has had a mighty revival lately, few talented Westerners have bothered to learn an Indian language well enough to translate some of this literary treasure.

OUTSIDE LOOKING IN: This has been especially true of fiction. The West has seen Indian life through Kipling's stories glorifying the Empire; Louis Bromfield's Hollywood-tinted view; John Masters' nostalgic recollections of the pukka sahib's colorful life and his condescending and malicious characterization of Indians who were "cheeky" enough to throw out the benevolent British rulers. Even honest stories like E. M. Forster's **A Passage to India** and Christine Weston's **Indigo** were written from the outside looking in.

B. BHATTACHARYA
The idiom remains

A few Indians have written in English about the material and spiritual hunger and aspirations of the Indian people. But Aubrey Menen (**Prevalence of Witches**) has been looking at Indians increasingly from a continental sophisticate's point of view; and Mulk Raj Anand (**Coolie, The Untouchable**) has lately been preoccupied with magazine pieces. Now Bhabani Bhattacharya has admirably filled the gap.

THE VULTURES: He Who Rides a Tiger, his third novel, tells of the adventures of the lonely untutored Indian blacksmith, Kalo, in his determined efforts to care for his motherless daughter, Chandra Lekha, during the terrible famine of 1943-44.

Kalo suffers from the humiliation of a low caste and class status, the rapacity of rice-hoarders and speculators, black marketeers, the pimps and procurers menacing his teen-age daughter—the vultures that fed on a starving population under the protection of the British government. As an act of revenge against the society and the class that made him and his daughter suffer, Kalo performs a fradulent miracle which, miraculously, also reveals to him the way to his own salvation.

THE IDIOM HOLDS: Bhattacharya writes with the artful simplicity of an author who is thoroughly at home with his characters and their problems, and can therefore dispense with superfluities. He has a sense of irony without malice and of humor without condescension, a felicitous English style which loses none of the flavor of his native idiom. Written from the inside out, **He Who Rides a Tiger** should find a wide and appreciative reading public

—**Kumar Goshal**

HE WHO RIDES A TIGER, by Bhabani Bhattacharya. Crown Publishers, Inc., New York. 245 pp. January Liberty Book Club selection (100 W. 23d St., N. Y. C. 11), $1.74 plus 25c for postage and handling to members, $3 to non-members.

NEW YORK

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
is honored to present

☆ Herman Autrey
☆ Paul Draper
☆ Cliff Jackson
☆ Pete Seeger
☆ Maxine Sullivan

CARNEGIE HALL
TUESDAY, APRIL 17
8 P.M.

The most exciting cultural event in years! The GUARDIAN is honored to present some of America's finest artists in a concert of music and dance at the home of great artistry—Carnegie Hall. Advance indications point to a sell-out long before the concert date. We urge you to order your tickets immediately to insure your presence. Tickets are priced from $1 to $5.50. There will be no fund solicitation at the concert.

Don't Be Left Out—Order Tickets Now!

Use the handy order blank and mail your order immediately to insure choice seats.

GUARDIAN CONCERT
17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Enclosed $.......... Please send me .... tickets at $5.50 (box); ...... at $4.60 (orch.); ...... at $3.50 (orch.) ...... at $3 (dress circle); ...... at $2 (balcony); ...... at $1 (balcony).

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

Tuesday, March 13

Save the night of Tuesday, March 13, for the National Guardian's Theater Party at **Uncle Vanya.** All seats are $5. Write Theater Party, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7. Or call WO 4-3960.

NEW YORK

SWAPPING SONG FAIR presents a Musical Tribute to
WOODY GUTHRIE
"BOUND FOR GLORY"
featuring
Lee Hays, Pete Seeger, Ed McCurdy, Jim Gavin, Earl Robinson, Robin Roberts, Rev. Gary Davis, Margie Mazia & dance group and many others.
Production written and directed by Millard Lampell

SAT., MARCH 17, 8:40 P.M. THE PYTHIAN, 135 W. 70th St.
$3, 2.50, 2.00, 1.50 (tax inc.) Tickets now on sale at Bookfair, 113 W. 49th St., JU 2-3195, or write Swapping Song Fair, 673 B'way, N. Y. C.

HALF THE POPULATION WANTED SEATS

'Porgy and Bess' captivates Warsaw

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

WARSAW

WHEN I ARRIVED in Warsaw there was one topic: "Are you going to see it? Will we be able to get a ticket, somehow, somewhere?"

The following day, the **Porgy and Bess** Everyman Opera Company arrived in Warsaw and Warsaw went wild. The Americans who live in Warsaw felt a pang of nostalgia which they had not felt in years: to see American Negroes walking down **Nowy Swiat** (Warsaw's Park Av.) made you feel so homesick; to walk into the Hotel Bristol and find its lobby swarming with American artists and its air thick with American speech.

Half a million Warsovians (in a town which has just reached the one million mark this means practically the entire adult working population) had applied for tickets. Since the company gave only 14 performances, for which a total of 12,000 seats were available, the battle for tickets was unbelievable. People queued up 24 hours before the box office opened—and anyone who has been to Warsaw in January knows what queuing up all through the night means. To accommodate the resident diplomats and others equally highly placed, two "first nights" were held.

The company of 80 were pleased with their reception; they said they found Warsovians less reserved than Moscovites: "They are all so friendly, they all smile." What impressed the artists particularly, both here and in the Soviet Union, was the fact that art is government supported. This not only gives the artist full security, but gives the producer unlimited scope.

The actual performance was a lovely spectacle. If millions of people from Madrid to Belgrade, from Tel Aviv to Moscow, have nearly stampeded to see the show—and tens of thousands have actually seen them—it constitutes the most powerful proof of the immense desire for cultural exchange, the vast eagerness to know more of America.

Ten years of Cold War have not been able to drain the reservoir of good-will. **Porgy and Bess** has made Americans once more beloved in this part of the world: Let America follow up this first step now by sending her greatest artists. The people of Warsaw, for one, are waiting for Marian Anderson and Paul Robeson.

SHAKEPEARE'S
TWELFTH NIGHT
("What You Will")
CAMEO, 44th St. & 8th Av.

RESORTS

ALLABEN HOTEL
Monmouth & 5 St. Lakewood, N.J. Completely modern hotel with intimacy and refinement. Classical record collection. Library. Entertainment. Free ice skating. Shuffleboard. Jewish - American Cuisine. Lakewood 6-1222.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

Guardian Brooklyn Art Show
FRI., SAT., SUN.
MARCH 23, 24, 25
UE Hall, 160 Montague St.
•
MEET THE ARTISTS at a RECEPTION
Friday, March 23—8 p.m.
Admission Free
Auspices: Guardian Brooklyn Heights Committee

CEDRIC BELFRAGE: "THIS ENGLAND"

There'll always be a Reg. Hayward

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IN BRITAIN as in America there is some alarm at the Soviet Union's proposal, in its sixth five-year plan, to turn out 1,000,000 highly-trained young specialists a year by 1960—500,000 of them in engineering. No one doubts the Soviets' ability to carry out their subversive plans. Nor can anyone see much likelihood of the two Western tortoises catching up in the race against the Eastern hare, nor of the hare taking a nap by the roadside.

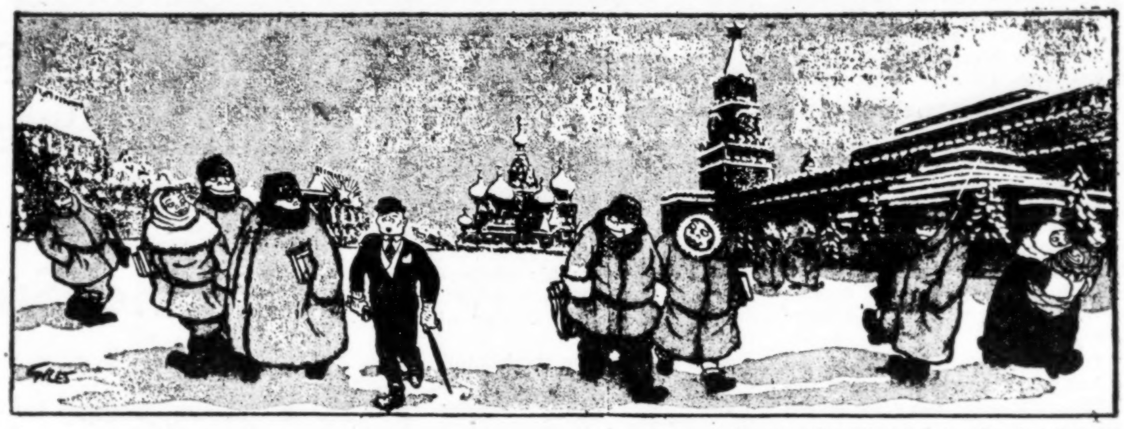
In Britain, as Prof. J. D. Bernal points out, the scientific educational system is shrinking and is "threatened with collapse owing to shortage of teachers." Britain's total yearly output of specialists is now 39,000 compared with the U.S.S.R.'s 640,000. Of young people with engineering qualifications, it is some 10,000 compared with 220,000, or less than 1/5 in proportion to population.

BLUE BLOODS: Asking why, Bernal points to our Western tradition that "only some 4% of the population are endowed by birth with the ability to profit by higher education." This, he writes, has been "blown to bits" by Soviet experience:

> "If, there, 10% do profit from higher education—and all agree that Soviet scientists and engineers are well trained and capable—then either the Russian children are more than twice as intelligent as ours, which seems unlikely, or there is something wrong with our method of intelligence grading and selection. The fact is that selection has always been on a class basis, naked in the old days, more cleverly concealed today. . . .
>
> "Now, with the coming of the scientific revolution, the contradiction between what is needed and what dare be given has grown so great that it can no longer be evaded. Either we must prepare an adequate proportion—some four to five times the present number—of boys and girls for higher scientific and technical education, or we must continue with an increasingly backward industry which will be driven rapidly out of the world economy. This, for a country which lives by manufacture and trade, would mean unemployment, poverty and even starvation. The threat to Britain is not one of Soviet technical achievement but of capitalist technical inefficiency and restriction."

"CARRY ON": With this unhappy prospect ahead, dear old England sticks to the historic charm of its way of doing things. It insists that it will not be rushed and that there are more important matters to worry about than modernizing industry and training engineers. For the Man with the Wine Society's Two-and-Fourpence, the Natl. Society for Abolition of Cruel Sports, and the Committee for Reg. Hayward—three recently-noted manifestations of the continuity of British life—the motto is: "Carry On!"

The first of these came to my attention when I ordered some wares from a Co-Operative Wine Society with which I had been out of communication since 1945. The bill came in with the final item: "Credit—2s 4d." The credit, it was explained, was for some bottles which I had returned ten years ago. Thus I learned that a man (or men) had been kept busy during the whole decade, bringing forward the bottle-credit of a customer who—but for the Walter-McCarran Act—was in effect dead for the Society's purposes.



Drawing by Giles, London Sunday Express

SOVIET SCHOLARS WHO SPEAK OXFORD ENGLISH WANT BRITISH PEN-PALS

"Ectually, Ai do faind a bowler hat a trayfful nippeigh for the tame of the yeah, Old Boy," said a Moscow scholar who had allowed his Oxford pen-pal to talk him into going the whole hog.

Seriously, one cannot deny that this is charming.

The current activity of the Cruel Sports Abolition Society is now being featured in the newspapers. It consists of an "emergency committee" and a national campaign to protest against the Archbishop of Canterbury's statement that churchmen must "form their own Christian judgment" on fox-hunting. The statement is denounced as "utterly unworthy of the leader of a Christian Church. He . . . can no longer burke the plain issue. . . . Here is an evil in our midst. . . . He could find food for thought in Chapter 10 of St. Luke. . . ."

GOLD OLD REG.: The case of Reg. Hayward was placed before me in a letter from my old college at Cambridge (which I left in 1924) addressed to me c/o the British Broadcasting Corporation—evidently the most recent address the Committee had. I last worked for the B.B.C. in the year 1933. In a matter of four days the letter had been forwarded to a bank, from there to a relative of mine who sent it to the correct address. The letter said:

> "Reg. Hayward wishes to retire on 31 March, 1956, from the post of groundsman after 48 years' service to the College. . . . The Committee have decided that it would be appropriate to mark his formal retirement with . . . a piece of commemorative silver, the remainder of the money to be spent on something chosen by Reg. Hayward. Subscriptions, however small, will be most welcome. . . .
>
> "Members of the College will be glad to learn that the very long Hayward connexion, which extends to the early 1880's, will be continued by Michael, Reg.'s son, who has accepted the College's appointment as groundsman from 1 April, 1956."

Of this, too, none can deny the charm. Britain's industry may be increasingly backward due to lack of trained technicians; but by the mystery of Hayward blood and soil the grass will continue to grow green and smooth on college lawns, and the fight will never weaken—though just as surely it will never be won—to see that British foxes are secure in their holes.

WHERE CREDIT'S DUE: As for the supply of manpower to carry forward credits on bottles unto the third and fourth generation of winebibbers, that is assured throughout the Empire. For did not Queen Elizabeth herself tell an audience of 17,000 children and teachers in Nigeria last week:

> "My husband and I are very happy. . . . It is good to see so many young people in whose hands the future prosperity and development of this country will lie. It is the aim of this region that every boy and girl should be taught to read and write. . . ."

SAN FRANCISCO - BAY AREA

Oh Paddy, dear, and did you hear
The news that's going round . . .
of the
SECOND ANNUAL
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
GUARDIAN
BANQUET
SATURDAY, MARCH 17 at 7 P.M. SHARP
MART CLUB, 9th Floor, 1355 Market St., San Francisco
CHICKEN DINNER • ENTERTAINMENT
Speakers:
REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
KUMAR GOSHAL
VIVIAN HALLINAN, chairman
Donation: $5 per plate
For reservations call LA 4-4289 or EX 2-4960
Make checks payable to Malvina Reynolds,
1199 Spruce St., Berkeley 7, California.

MINNEAPOLIS

Fri., March 9—8 p.m.
HEAR
Kumar Goshal
PLUS
Exclusive films on the Bandung Conference and Premier Nehru's Tour of the U.S.S.R.
ANDREWS HOTEL,
Brunswick Room
Door Cont. 75c; or Free admission with 3 introductory subs or 1 full year sub to the Guardian.

LOS ANGELES

INSURANCE BY
THE BOROUGHS
and Associates
• Rube Borough
• Madeleine Borough
• Julius Kogan
5922¼ N. Figueroa St., L. A. 42
CLeveland 6-3129

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
announces
Kumar Goshal
will speak on
"THE WORLD SINCE BANDUNG"
PLUS
Exclusive films of the Bandung Conference and Premier Nehru's tour of the U.S.S.R.
FRIDAY, MARCH 30, 8:30 P.M.
Larchmont Hall, 118 N. Larchm't
ADRIAN SCOTT, Chairman
Door Contribution: $1
Limited seating capacity. Please call for reservations: WE 1-9478 or WE 6-5866.

OTHER SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA MEETINGS:
SAT., MARCH 24 .... PASADENA
SUN., MARCH 25 .... SANTA MONICA
WED., MARCH 28 .... SAN DIEGO
THURS., MARCH 29 .... LONG BEACH
(Morgan Hall, 835 Locust Av., Long Beach)
SAT., MARCH 31 .... EAST SIDE, L. A.
(City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Drive)
SUN., APRIL 1 .... NO. HOLLYWOOD
For reservaations call: Tiba Willner, WE 1-9478 or WE 6-5866

LOS ANGELES

ATLAS OPTICAL CO.
M. Franklyn (Maury) Mitchell
OPTICIAN
610 S. Broadway, Los Angeles
Suite 405 Vandike 3530
QUICK SERVICE—LOW PRICES

PROGRESSIVE OPTICIANS
Rapid Service • Eyeglasses
Repairs • Oculists' Prescriptions
Carefully Fitted
WM. L. GOLTZ
6132 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles WEbster 8-1107

HOMELINE FURNITURE & APPLIANCE CO.
All leading brands of Furniture, TV & Appliances
Best Quality — Lowest Prices
1959 Brooklyn Av. AN 3-8134
Open evenings except Tues.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7

CALENDAR

Chicago

"THE SOVIET BALLET" explained by Miss Ann Barzel, dance critic and member, Ballet Guild of Chicago. Illustrated with movies of Soviet Ballet. Wed., March 7, 8 p.m., Midland Hotel. Admission 50c. Auspices: Chicago Council American-Soviet Friendship.

INTERNATIONAL SUPPER AND PROGRAM celebrating International Women's Day, Sat. evening, March 10, at Milda Hall, 3142 So. Halsted. Supper, foods from many lands, 6:30-8:30 p.m. Program, music, scenes from "Salt of the Earth" and "Children's Bill of Rights," 9 p.m. Donation: $1.75. Ausp.: Chicago Women for Peace.

PLAN YOUR TRIP TO U. S. S. R. Informal discussion with travel agency operator and international airline representative. Wed., March 21, 8 p.m. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Adm.: 50c. Auspices: Chicago Council American - Soviet Friendship.

Cleveland

The **CLEVELAND OPEN FORUM** meets every Saturday, 8:30 p.m., at 1205 Superior Av. Everybody welcome.

New York

THE CONTEMPORARY FORUM
206 West 15th Street WA 4-5524
A PHILOSOPHY FOR TODAY
Lecturer: **Dr. Barrows Dunham**
Mon., Mar. 5, 8:30 p.m.—"Knowing and Acting—Theory and Practice."
MODERN NOVEL AS IMAGE OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS
Lecturers: **Mr. Francis Bartlett**, psychotherapist; **Dr. Frederic Ewen**, literary critic. Thurs., March 8, 8:30 p.m. Nexo: "Pelle the Conqueror."
Tuition: $1 per session.

* * *

"SHAKESPEARE & THE NATURE OF MAN"
Seminar devoted to study of Shakespeare's representative plays, with reference to their historical and social setting. Starting Mar. 22, Five Thursday evenings, 8-10 p.m. Instructors: Dr. Frederic Ewen and Mr. Murray Young. Limited registration. Tuition: $10 payable in advance. Prospectus and reading list mailed on application.

PUBLIC PROTEST!
Against Illegal Coastguard Screening. Speakers: J. Raymond Walsh, Capt. Hugh Mulzac, Victor Rabinowitz. Chairman: Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein. Fri., March 16, 8 p.m., Adelphi Hall. 74 5th Av. (14 St.) Cont. $1. Auspices: Seaman's Defense Comm. in cooperation with Emergency Civil Liberties Comm.

FOR NEGRO FREEDOM
A noted speaker. Sun., March 4, 8 p.m. Independent Social Club, 232 E. 9th St. Admission free.

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"GENEVIEVE,"** March 3. Superlative British comedy in color in which the heroine is a 1904 motor car and the story, the situations she creates for her owner and others. Showings: Sat. only 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **TIME IN THE SUN** (USSR and Mexican).

Next **GUARDIAN THEATRE PARTY "UNCLE VANYA,"** Tues., March 13. Orchestra seats $5. Call or write 17 Murray St. WO 4-3960.

PRESS BAZAAR. Beautiful handwork, Artcraft, useful mdse. Bargains galore. Delicious Polish meals. Film Program. Sat. & Sun., Mar. 11-12 Doors open 1 p.m. Polonia Club, 219 Second Av. (nr. 14th St).

Portland, Ore.

KUMAR GOSHAL
will speak on
"THE WORLD SINCE BANDUNG"
Thurs., March 15, 8 p.m., at 1010 N. E. Davis St. Adm.: Free. Collection. Joint Auspices: Fed. for Social Action and National Guardian.

Seattle, Wash.

KUMAR GOSHAL
will speak on
"THE WORLD SINCE BANDUNG"
Tues., March 13, 8 p.m., at Church of People, 4033 University St. At the door: 50c.

San Francisco

Thursday, March 22, 8 p.m. Meet **KUMAR GOSHAL**, who will speak on "The World Since Bandung," in the Panel Room of 150 Golden Gate Av. Also showing of exclusive films on the Bandung Conference and Premier Nehru's tour of the U. S. S. R. Door Cont.: 50c.

CLASSIFIED

General

WANTED
Limited number of steady customers who know how to take good pictures and who want them finished properly. BLACK & WHITE ONLY. Careful, honest workmanship, GOOD SERVICE AT FAIR PRICES. Send for free mailing envelopes.
PAL FILM SERVICE
BLVD. P. O. BOX 123G,
NEW YORK 59, N. Y.

Nu-LIFE VITAMINS, 18 Vitamins, 13 Minerals. 30 Day Supply, $1. 90 Day Supply, $2.50, prepaid. FOLDER FREE. Nu-LIFE Co., 2605 N. Temple St., Los Angeles 26, Calif.

KANCO RAZOR BLADES
DOUBLE EDGE ONLY, 130 BLADES for $2, 60 for $1. Specify heavy or thin when ordering. 33 Union Sq. W., New York City 3.

FOR SALE—1 to 1,000 Lots and Parcels in South Columbus, New Mexico, gateway to Old Mexico; port of entry bet. U. S. and Mexico. Lots at $25 each, or greatly reduced on entire holdings if desired for low-rent home suites for poor people. Write: Thomas A. Hulsey (owner), Box 756, Del Rio, Texas.

Resorts

HILLBERG FARM, Kerhonkson, N. Y. Tel.: Kerhonkson 8008 W. Open all year. $38 per week, $7 per day.

CHAIT'S, Accord, N. Y. Excellent food and accommodations — the right facilities and atmosphere for a wonderful Spring vacation or week-end. Adults $40 weekly, $7.50 daily; children $30 and $6.50. Tel. Kerhonkson 3758.

Books & Publications

JUST OFF THE PRESS . . .
A "must" for your files. The record of Soviet leaders' historic visit to Asia. "Bulganin and Khrushchev in India" and "Bulganin and Khrushchev in Burma and Afghanistan." Two 32-page pamphlets containing addresses and joint statements . . . packed with information. 25c each. American-Russian Institute. 90 McAllister St., San Francisco, Calif.

BIBLE WARNS of coming whirlwind, with devastating waterspouts that will sweep away the waters of the seas! Free information. Write: Harvest N. Jefferson City, Missouri.

Chicago

INCOME TAX SERVICE
Accounting. Bookkeeping
Mimeographing. Letter Writing
ALBERT BOFMAN 637 W. 63d St.
Phone: WEntworth 6-2582

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

MERCHANDISE

LARGE SAVINGS—Good, modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see. Special consideration to Guardian readers.
SMILOW-THIELLE
New York: 856 Lex. Av., MU 6-7308
White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Av. WH 8-4788

GIFTS FOR ALL OCCASIONS
Antique & diamond jewelry, silverware—modern and antique Repairing and remodeling.
Clara & Irving Gavurin
22 W. 48 St. (Rm. 1103) CO 5-1881

HI-FIDELITY
RADIO - PHONOGRAPHS
Sales Installation, Service
VECTOR LABORATORIES, 217 3rd Av., New York 3. GR 3-7686.

LATEST IMPORTED STAINLESS STEEL 5 pc. pl. setting. Reg. $5.85. SPEC. $2.91. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Av. (13-14 Sts.) GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

LARRABEE SHOE CORP.
SAVE! 25% to 60% off **FAMOUS FACTORY SHOES** (men, women, children's.) Buy with confidence; money back in 7 days. 321 Church St., CA 6-9820. All subways to Canal Street station.

TREMENDOUS SAVINGS
Large selection of adult bedding
Full line of juvenile furniture
FLATBUSH BABY CARRIAGE SHOP
789 Flatbush Av., B'klyn. BU 4-9109

COMBINATION storm-screen windows. **VERTICAL BLINDS**, table pads, radiator enclosures. **MIRRORS, GLASS & MARBLE TOPS.**
JOHN KOBLICK
238 Reid Av., B'klyn. GL 2-3024

FINE FURS
Fur coats of every description. Also minks, stoles, jackets & capes at $ saving. Expert **REMODELING** and repairing or converting your old fur coat to fur lined cloth coat.
MAX KUPERMAN
OR 5-7773 315 Seventh Av.

SERVICES

CUSTOM BUILT
Cabinets-storage units, alterations for home, office, most reasonable.
STEIN INTERIORS
92 Eighth Av. CH 3-8325

TIRED OF MAPLE?
We make it mahogany. Refinishing, repairing and polishing furniture in your home. Estimates free. Phone: IN 9-6827.

SOFA REWEBBED. Relined Spring Retied in your home. Reasonable. Furniture Repaired, Remodeled. Custom Slipcovered, Reupholstered. Foam Rubber Cushioning. Call mornings 9-1. HY 8-7887.
Fraternal Attention

NORMA CATERERS: Now booking that special occasion in temple, home, or office. Unusual plan for exceptionally large receptions. Hor D'Oeuvres, turkeys, meat trays, etc., delivered anywhere in metropolitan area. Tel.: ES 3-9490.

WASHING MACHINE REPAIRS
Sales—New and used machines
Service for all types
Brooklyn GE 4-4228

TELEVISION REPAIRS
Manhattan and Bronx Only
AARON'S TV SERVICE
356 Wadsworth Av., N. Y. C.
WA 3-1370 DAY-NITE SERVICE

CUSTOM CABINET MAKERS
Design and Craftsmanship. Choice of woods and finishes. Hi-Fi installations. Drawings, estimates free. **Beran-Orban**, 322 E. 23d. OR 4-6123.

FREE LIFE INSURANCE ANALYSIS
Get the MOST for the LEAST!
Personal & business. Fire, health, acc., theft, etc., insurance placed.
RENE M. SCHENKER
420 Lex. Av., N. Y. 17 MU 3-2837

CARL BRODSKY
INSURANCE
Automobile, Fire, Life, etc.
GR 5-3826
799 Broadway (Cor. 11th St.)

LAWRENCE PHOTO
28 Market St., NYC. WA 5-4156
Portraiture, Photo Journalism
Commercial Photography

LITERARY AID BUREAU
Writers Service; ghost writing, editing, typing: theses, resumes, fiction, speeches, etc. Van Swearengen, 20 E. 100th St. TR 6-2294, LE 2-9380.

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET
MULTIGRAPHING,
MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL 5-8160

OPTICIAN — Prescriptions filled, broken lenses duplicated, precision workmanship, large selection of frames. Special attention to Guardian readers. **M. ZIESK**, 1114 DeKalb Av. (cor. B'way), B'klyn. Mon.-Fri., 10 a.m.-8 p.m.; Sat., 10 a.m.-2 p.m. Phone: GL 2-4771.

UNWANTED HAIR REMOVED
Permanent
Private
Rapid
Latest Medical Method. Appt. only.
Laura Green CH 2-7119

RELIABLE CARPENTER - MASON. Remodels old houses. Knotty Pine Basements. Steel Casement Windows. Porches. Garages built. Very reasonable. NI 8-0191 after 6 p.m.

MOVING, STORAGE, EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS. Profit by my 20 yrs. experience. Call Ed Wendel, JE 6-8000 on any moving problem.

JIMMY'S TRUCKING
Moving and light hauling anywhere. Good service at bargain prices. ST 9-3262.

JIM'S EXPRESS
Young vet. Move inexpensively. $3.50 per hour per man or flat rate. New station wagon. 24 hr. service. Phone: SU 7-7378.

FRED'S TRUCKING
Let us do your trucking—any kind, light or heavy. Quick and expert service, day or night. Inexpensive. GR 3-0893.

Pensions and Social Security

A National Movement

Bills now being introduced in Congress! Our lobby now in Washington fighting to raise payment to $100 per month and for other benefits.

We have thousands of members, own our own building and equipment. Our lobby is fighting to reduce age of women recipients from 65 to 62 years; eliminate responsible relative clause. raise the amount allowable; raise value of home to $5,000 assessed value without taking out for occupancy.

Regular Membership: $10 — Associate Membership: $5
including our National Welfare Advocate

Paper alone—$2 per year. Single copies 20c or send 10c coin or stamps for literature.

Contact any of our many clubs or write:
THE $100 CLUB, No. 186 **45 S. 23d St., San Jose, Calif.**

EAST COAST

HOW-TO-DO-IT PAINTING TIPS by "Dutch" Masters

BEFORE PAINTING A NEW CEMENT FLOOR ... WASH IT DOWN WITH A SOLUTION OF FIVE POUNDS OF ZINC SULPHATE TO A GALLON OF WATER. THIS WILL CHEMICALLY "CURE" THE CEMENT. ALLOW TO DRY THOROUGHLY, THEN SWEEP UP CRYSTALS BEFORE PROCEEDING. THIS WILL PROVIDE A GOOD BASE FOR THE FIRST COAT OF PAINT.

DUTCH MASTERS

Dutch Masters FLOOR AND DECK ENAMEL

AN ENORMOUS RANGE OF COLORS IN FLOOR AND DECK ENAMEL IS YOURS! IT PRESERVES, PROTECTS AND BEAUTIFIES ALL WOOD AND CONCRETE FLOORS, PORCHES, STEPS, BOAT DECKS--ECONOMICALLY! EASY TO APPLY, DRIES QUICKLY, GIVES A HARD, TOUGH SURFACE THAT WITHSTANDS HEAVIEST TRAFFIC, ROUGHEST WEATHER BECAUSE OUR FORMULA IS BASED ON BAKELITE RESINS! WATERPROOF, IT CLEANS EASILY WITH DETERGENT AND WATER!

LET US SHOW YOU HOW-TO-DO-IT!

DUTCH MASTERS PAINT & VARNISH CO.

In the east, please write for dealer in your community.
Box DM, 17 Murray St., New York 17, N.Y.

CHICAGOANS

Does Social Security Law Alter Your Life Insurance Needs?
Analysis and counsel given without obligation.
LOU BLUMBERG
166 W. Jackson Blvd. HA 7-5497
Fire, Auto & All Other Insurance

BOOKS & PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS From the USSR

In English
JUST RECEIVED

A handsomely produced, large size, deluxe
ALBUM OF VIEWS OF MOSCOW
74 full page artistic photos (13" x 10") $3.00

THE RUSSIAN MUSEUM
A short guide. Ancient Russian Art—18th Century Art—Art in the first half of the 19th Century. 55 pages of reproductions, 113 pages of descriptions.
Handy size volume. 75c.

LEV TOLSTOI
CHILDHOOD-BOYHOOD-YOUTH
Well bound. 414 pp. — $1.50

YURI KRYMOV
THE TANKER DERBENT
Novel. Well bound.
238 pp. — 75c

GALINA NIKOLAYEA
HARVEST
The most popular work of this well-known author. An intensely absorbing novel—a cross-section of everyday life of the Soviet people. 1950 prize award.
622 pp. — $1.50

* * *

Ask for complete catalog of literature in English from the USSR: "E-56."

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORPORATION
822 Broadway, Cor 12th St.
New York 3, N. Y.
GRamercy 3-2018-19

NEW YORK

D-20
22" x 48"
WALNUT
59.95

prize modern TRADEMARK

Designed for those with good taste and moderate budget—the light and airy scaling—the warm feeling of American walnut and fine craftsmanship apparent in every detail—for timeless beauty.

Available with formica top for today's carefree living—if desired.

Available in blonde birch.

Catalogue on request. Enclose 50c.

smilow-thielle
NEW YORK: 856 LEXINGTON AVE. (Nr. 64 St.) MU 6-7308
WHITE PLAINS: 41 MAMARONECK AVE. WH 8-4788
FREE PARKING Open Thurs. 'til 9 p.m. • Sat. 'til 6 p.m.
Interior Design & Decorator Service Available

SHARE DRIVING

WANTED: PERSON OR PERSONS share driving 1955 Plymouth station wagon Florida, March 22. Transportation free. Phone: CH 3-0544 weekdays after 6 p.m.

FURNISHED ROOM FOR RENT

LARGE ROOM, nicely furnished, for someone seeking good home. All privileges, near all subways. Phone evenings only, CY 3-4671, Bronx.

LARGE ROOM with privileges for quiet, refined woman wishing cultured atmosphere. Clean, comfortable, near transportation. WA 6-1290 after 7 p.m.

COUPLE OR WOMAN to share private house with woman. Own large room, garden, convenient transportation, etc. OL 2-9083.

LARGE, SUNNY ROOM. Female. West '50's, Accessible to subways. Kitchen privileges. Tel. CI 6-7795.

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

LP (33⅓ rpm) FOLK ALBUMS

A choice selection of folk music round the world performed by outstanding artists on 10" LP records.

EXCITING • ENTERTAINING EDUCATIONAL

Each album $2.50 ppd.
Please order by number

•

# 52. SONGS OF THE LINCOLN AND INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE. Pete Seeger, Bess Lomax, Butch Hawes, Ernst Bush and chorus.

Quinte Brigada
Cook House
Quinte Regimento
Jarama Valley
Spanish Marching Song
Quartermaster Song
Hans Beimler
Die Thaelmann-Kolonne
Los Quatros Generales
Die Moor Soldaten
Der Inter-Brigaden
Der Einheitsfront

# 27. CALYPSO SUNG BY LORD INVADER, LORD BEGINNER, MACBETH, FELIX and his INTERNATIONALS.

Yankee Dollar
Always Marry a Pretty Woman
Pound Your Plaintain in the Morter
Donkey Wants Water
Sly Mongoose
Out the Fire
God Made Us All
Tied-Tongue Baby

# 79. FOURPENCE A DAY and other BRITISH INDUSTRIAL FOLKSONGS sung by EWAN MacCOLL with banjo and guitar accompaniment.

Poor Paddy Works on the Railroad
The Gresford Disaster
The Four Loom Weaver
I'm Champion At Keeping 'Em Rollin
The Collier Laddie
The Coal Owner and the Pitman's Wife
The Iron Horse
Fourpence A Day
The Blantyre Explosion
The Wark O' The Weavers
Cosher Bailey's Engine

# 1. BURL IVES: THE WAYFARING STRANGER

The Blue Tail Fly
The Fox
Henry Martin
Black Is the Color
Foggy Foggy Dew
Brennan On the Moor
Buckeye Jim
The Bold Soldier
Sow Took the Measles
Poor Wayfaring Stranger

S-T-R-E-T-C-H

First Sheer **Nylons**

From the mills of one of the world's largest manufacturers we have obtained a supply of perfect-fit stretch nylons. They are made completely of stretch nylon from top-to-toe. They follow the contours of the legs; won't wrinkle or move up, yet they allow full flexibility and eliminate the "girdled" feeling of other nylons. Under another label these nylons sell for $1.95 a pair.
They come in two shades: "Treasure" (light beige), or "Blush" (darker beige).
There are three sizes: Size A (8-9), Size B (9½-10), Size C (10½ and over).
Sold only in boxes of same size and shade.

Box of 3 pair $3.95 ppd.

Box of 12 pair $14.50 ppd.

# 3. EL FLAMENCO guitar solos by CARLOS MONTOYA.

Jota
Rondena
Farruca Dance
Seguirya
Folias-Canarias
Malaguena
Cafe De Chinitas
Algerias
Media Granaina
Zambrilla

# 63. IRISH STREET SONGS sung by ROBIN ROBERTS.

The Old Man Rocking the Cradle
The Banks of the Roses
The Tri-Colored Ribbon
Molly Brannigan
When Pat Comes Over The Hill
Eileen Aroon
Shule Aroon
Mrs. McGrath
The Foggy Dew
Kelly of Killarne
The Garden Where The Praties Grow
Brian O'Linn
Cuc-A-Nandy

# 15. JOSH WHITE SINGS

One Meat Ball
Motherless Children
St. James Infirmary
Careless Love
Outskirts of Town
Well, Well, Well
T. B. Blues
Joshua Fit The Battle

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N. Y. C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL ________

No COD's. Full payment must accompany each order. Make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

Name ....
Address ....
City.......................... **Zone**..... **State**..........

Use the Toothbrush Dentists Use

Used by leading Dental Schools for Instruction.

- **Two-Row Natural Bristles**
- **Gum-Stimulator Tip**

By special arrangement GBS has acquired a LIMITED supply of PROFESSIONAL TOOTHBRUSHES. They are distributed by the manufacturer (Lactona) to dentists for personal use and for instructing patients how to brush their teeth. Ordinarily these brushes are not available to the public; each brush is marked "Professional Package." Sold only in lots of six. Specify medium or hard bristles.

6 brushes......$2.95 ppd.

# 14. JOSH WHITE SINGS THE BLUES

Baby Baby
Dupree
Miss Otis Regrets
Fare Thee Well
No. 12 Train
Mean Mistreatin' Woman
When I Lay Down and Die
I Got A Head Like A Rock
Cotton Eyed Joe

# 19. LEADBELLY MEMORIAL

Meeting At the Building
Yellow Girl
Talking Preacher
We Shall Walk Thru the Valley
Cow Cow Yicky Yicky Yea
Out On the Western Plains
Green Corn
Big Fat Woman
Fiddler's Dream
Noted Rider
Burrow Love and Go
Line Em
Bring Me Li'l Water Silvy
Julie Ann Johnson
John Hardy
Whoe, Back, Buck

# 2. RICHARD DYER-BENNET

Little Pigs
Westron Wynde
The Frog and the Mouse
Two Maidens Went Milking
John Peel
Venezuela
The Eddystone Light
Blow the Candles Out
Brigg Fair
Molly Malone
As I Was Going to Ballynure

A MEMORABLE EVENT

Pete Seeger Concert

Recorded at a concert at a leading U. S. university.

Hear the audience join with Pete in a rollicking songfest!

Hear Pete sing songs from round the world with the theme of world brotherhood.

On Two 10" LP Records

Set: $4.95 ppd.

The House Carpenter
Three Courting Songs
Greenland Fisheries
Winsboro Cotton Mill Blues
Paddy Works on the Railroad
Long John
Money Is King
Go Down Old Hannah
Bayeza
The Road to Eilat
Ariran
Four Recorder Melodies
Die Gedanken Sind Frei
Kisses Sweeter Than Wine
In the Evening When the Sun Goes Down

the SPECTATOR

Roll out the barrel

FOR ONE WHO WAS WEANED politically on the porky rhetoric of Boston's James Michael Curley (The Purple Shamrock), there is a certain nostalgia as a big election year rolls around. There was a reality about those times that was stimulating: the fire of the torchlights burned bright, and Jim Curley's Shakespeare was grand as it rolled forth to demolish the Brahmins. Aye, there were thieves in those days—but they were open thieves.

Today the thievery is hidden, with the help of a venal press, in a red herring barrel with a caviar label on it. Let's take a look in that barrel, clothespins at the ready:

On the Democratic side there is the former Governor of Illinois who talks, acts and makes jokes like a professor at a junior college for well-born young ladies who is determined to be voted the most charming teacher on the campus. He travels about the country with a flock of rabbits in grey flannel suits who sniff out the advance towns to make sure that Mr. Stevenson will offend no one—not even the local dope pusher who may control 12 Democratic votes.

In Albany there sits a dour millionaire Governor of New York being coaxed into a painful affability by a well-trained Tammany hack. Governor Harriman is an untroubled man. With equanimity he signs extradition papers for fugitive Negroes to be sent back to the chain gangs to which they have been railroaded by predatory Southern justice. Then, with a nod from Mr. De Sapio, he makes a speech insisting that the Federal government do something about Southern justice.

ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE, the President rides a mule cart to a turkey shoot in Georgia—not many miles away from where an NAACP leader was shot to death in the same week. The mule ride is part of a supreme test to determine whether the President can stand the rigors of a second term The final test comes on the fairway: if the President can shoot 18 holes of golf comfortably, that will leave time each day for the exhausting signing of papers that are placed in front of him. And cotton futures would continue to gain.

In the stable, with the mule drivers, loiters the sharp-shooting Vice President, jiggling the dice in his hollow fist, itching for a throw. But he can't while the Old Man's heart still beats. (Can the oldest resident recall when the American scene was graced with as unpleasant a piece of political baggage as Slippery Dick Nixon?) Out back of the stable is the figure of Sen. Knowland, shovel in hand, feverishly digging a hole in the ground for all America to peer into and see the menace of China.

AN EDIFYING SPECTACLE. Desegregation an issue? Let's not be hasty about this thing, says Mr. Stevenson; after all there's been violence in the South before, and all Southern gentlemen are potential Democratic voters, aren't they? So where's the issue?

Federal action to prevent the violence? We're all Americans, under God, says the President, and we certainly hope that we will never reach the point (90 years back) where it will be necessary.

Foreign policy an issue? What an idea, says Mr. Dulles, his sanctimonious mouth sagging in anguish. Breathes there a Democrat in Congress who will not subscribe to the bipartisan porridge we're in? Well, Foster, says Senator George of Georgia (all tricked out like an elder statesman), if you-all would just let us in on the mischief **before** it happens, there'd be no issue at all.

Civil liberties an issue? Let's all have another drink, boys.

SHALL WE JOIN THE BOYS? Of course not. Then what do we do in 1956?

That's a thing to talk about. We don't have the answers, but we think the answers will come if progressives, each in their own region, sit down and size up the situation, find out if there are candidates they can present, or support, then decide what to do—not only for 1956 but for the long-range future. What they ought not to do is regard themselves as expendables to be dispersed in a neverland of opportunism to support the standard-bearers of a dying philosophy.

It takes deep faith in what we believe to do this; it takes self-respect and respect for others. But it's worth it. It's not an answer to the national dilemma, but it's a beginning of the reorganization of progressives that must come.

And don't let anybody tell us that working together for a positive alternative to the mess we're in is isolation. It's the healthiest contribution we can make toward integration.

—**James Aronson**

NEW YORK

Paul Draper
DANCES: CHOPIN, LECUONA, PORTER, JAZZ

SATURDAY, MARCH 10—8:30 P.M.
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
"SHOLEM ALEICHEM MEETS MARK TWAIN"
Hesh Bernardi, Rita Karpinovitch, Leon Bibb & Roy Godes, Jewish Youth Chorus
Tix: $2.50, 1.80, 1.15, available at Jewish Shul Parents, 302 Eastern P'kway, B'klyn

Patronize GUARDIAN Advertisers